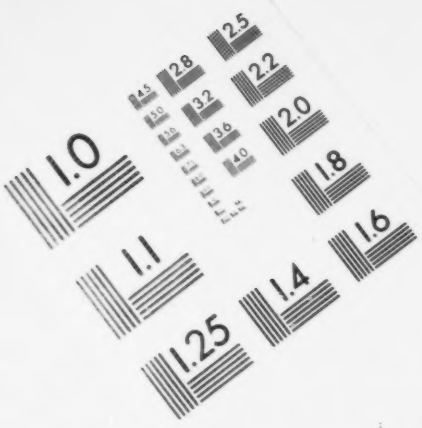

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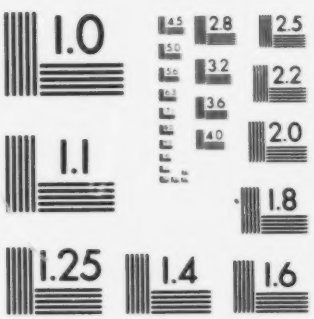

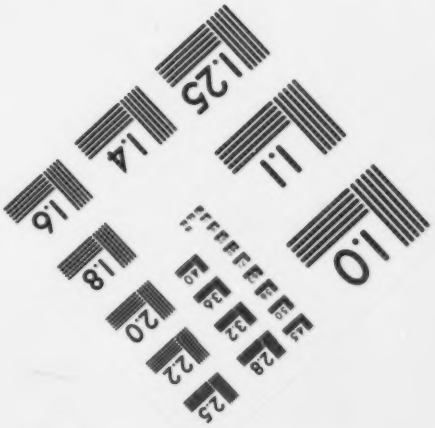

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General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

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27 February 1990

ENGLISH

Seventeenth special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 20 February 1990, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. GARBA	(Nigeria)
later:	Mr. PAWLAK (Vice-President)	(Poland)
later:	Mr. GARBA (President)	(Nigeria)
later:	Mr. JAYA (Vice-President)	(Brunei Darussalam)
later:	Mr. LOHIA (Vice-President)	(Papua New Guinea)

- General debate [8] (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly this morning, at its first plenary meeting, the list of speakers will be closed today at 6 p.m. I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names as soon as possible.

Mr. COORE (Jamaica): For the past year my country has been in the forefront of those calling for an enhanced international capability to deal with the global phenomenon of illegal narcotics and psychotropic substances. The Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Right Honourable Michael Manley, has waged a personal campaign to heighten awareness of the need for such action in discussions with our CARICOM partners and in bilateral talks with other Government leaders in this hemisphere and in Europe. As he has very bluntly stated, "I am not able to conceive of a society that is worth building or worth occupying on the basis of a drug culture."

We therefore welcomed and strongly supported the proposal initiated by the President of Colombia last September, at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, for the convening of this special session. It is our hope that this Assembly will not simply constitute another forum for the reiteration of our individual perceptions of the drug crisis or for the mere adoption of resolutions.

We believe it is imperative that this opportunity be used to formulate a constructive approach to collective action against drug related activities. We believe that one of the principal inadequacies of the existing system of international co-operation on drugs is the lack of a focal-point of co-ordination for the development and implementation of strategies to deal globally with the

(Mr. Coore, Jamaica)

broad spectrum of those issues which have an impact on the drug phenomenon. Jamaica is of the firm conviction that the United Nations must play a critical role in this regard. The fundamental guiding principal of respect for national sovereignty, which is enshrined in the United Nations Charter, and which guides its operations, provides it with unique authority and credibility for such a global programme.

Indeed the need to enhance the capability of the United Nations in this fight against drugs has already been recognized and was given due consideration at the recent special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, in Vienna. We have also noted, with appreciation, the fact that the Secretary-General, in consultation with the various United Nations bodies, has acted very promptly pursuant to General Assembly resolution 44/141 in the preparation of a systematic plan of action against drugs. It is our hope that the results of that process will facilitate the early and effective implementation of the global programme of action.

It is equally important that this Assembly seek a firm commitment to the application of adequate financial resources for the early implementation of the programme. I should like to underscore this point. All our declarations and good intentions will come to nothing unless we are prepared to provide the necessary funding for whatever programme of action is proposed. Admittedly it is not easy for any of us to find additional budgetary resources for our own urgent domestic needs, but this represents an investment in our future which we cannot afford to ignore. If we do ignore it, it will cost us more in the long run, both individually and collectively.

It is also significant to note that General Assembly resolution 44/141 has identified the Declaration of the 1987 International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking and the Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline of Future

(Mr. Coore, Jamaica)

Activities in Drug Abuse Control as a guide for the development of the action plan. The recommendations of that Outline, which admittedly are not legally binding, have often been overlooked by States or implemented on a purely discretionary basis. It is our view, however, that that document provides a firm basis for the development of a meaningful global programme of action into which the new measures defined in resolution 44/141 can be incorporated.

We are also mindful of the tremendous value of the programme already being undertaken by the United Nations through its anti-drug bodies to enhance the capacity of States to develop more effective control measures at both national and regional levels. In addition of course the United Nations has provided the legal framework for the formulation and adoption of several international instruments to strengthen the collective capability against the illicit use, production and trafficking of drugs. The most recent of these was of course the 1988 United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

The latter Convention, although not yet in force, has provided a framework for the strengthening of bilateral and regional co-operation, and it was the provisions of that Treaty that prompted the recent negotiation of a bilateral agreement between the Government of Jamaica and the Government of Mexico for joint action in combating illicit trafficking in drugs and combating drug abuse.

Many of the small developing States in the Latin American and Caribbean region have had to divert significant portions of already limited financial and human resources to the implementation of a wide range of strategies against the drug phenomenon. The very moderate success we have been able to achieve in that regard demonstrates the inadequacy of our individual national capabilities to deal effectively with the problem.

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(Mr. Coore, Jamaica)

This brings me to a consideration of the variables that relate specifically to the development of a global programme of action. One of the fundamental elements in conceptualizing a framework for such a programme has to be an understanding of the inextricable and dynamic link between the supply of and demand for drugs.

The demand for drugs is of course based principally on changes in human behavioural patterns. It is essentially a qualitative variable and represents the primary factor in the development of the drug abuse phenomenon. The supply of drugs, on the other hand, is purely a quantitative variable. The greater the quantity of drugs available, the greater the tendency for use and therefore demand to increase. In this way a self-reinforcing cycle is created.

Over the years a tendency has emerged to place greater emphasis on the quantative aspects of the drug problem in the belief that the reduction of supply in what have traditionally been regarded as producer countries would lead to demand reduction in the user countries. That misconception has invariably led to the development of alternative sources of supply, including an increase in domestic supply.

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We have noted, for instance, that the production of marijuana, by Jamaica - among five leading producer countries in the western hemisphere - fell from 6 per cent to 0.5 per cent between 1985 and 1988 as a result of an eradication programme supported by the United States. During that same period, domestic production of marijuana in the United States more than doubled. The scenario is perhaps no different in the quest to decrease the production of cocaine in the Andean countries. Given the rapid advance in technology, it is quite feasible for coca plants to be viably produced in North America as an alternative source of supply to meet domestic demands for cocaine and crack.

The lesson to be learnt, therefore, is that a comprehensive strategy must be developed if we are to deal effectively with the cycle of supply and demand. In Jamaica we have identified eight essential categories of integrated strategies so as to have an effective synergistic programmes of activities in a five-year national plan. These strategies encompass projects for research and the development of a data base; public and school education programmes; community involvement activities; health and medical measures, including provision for treatment and rehabilitation; law enforcement measures aimed at demand reduction; economic and alternative income programmes; and legal reform at both national and international levels.

As regards legal reform, an important initiative was introduced by Trinidad and Tobago at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, and supported by the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) countries, for the establishment of an international criminal court with jurisdiction over persons alleged to have committed certain crimes, including drug-related crimes, that cut across national frontiers. The proposal has been referred to the International Law Commission. My delegation believes that this initiative makes a very important contribution to the

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efforts to reinforce the multilateral system so as to deal more effectively with the many facets of the drug problem.

We believe that global demand reduction must be a policy imperative of Member States of the United Nations. In this regard the World Ministerial Summit to Reduce the Demand for Drugs and to Combat the Cocaine Threat, to be held in April and hosted by the United Kingdom, in association with the United Nations, will be of special relevance. My Government has been invited to deliver an address to that conference on the question of demand reduction - an issue which has always been a fundamental part of our drug control policy. That Summit will undoubtedly assess the outcome of the decisions emanating from this special session.

On the question of the control of supply, I should mention that a Caribbean ministerial narcotics law enforcement Conference was held in Kingston, Jamaica, last October to assess the progress of Caribbean States in the implementation of law enforcement measures, including the protection of our seaports and airports against drug trafficking. The conclusions of that Conference underscored the fact that small States engulfed in a multiplicity of developmental problems, including the external debt crisis, do not have access to the necessary financial, technical and human resources actively to confront the onslaught of drug trafficking and transshipment.

It was against that background that Jamaica, with the support of the Caribbean Community, put forward at the General Assembly last year a number of proposals aimed at enhancing global efforts in the areas of law enforcement and the interdiction of the trafficking and transshipment of drugs, as well as assistance to States to enable them to create alternatives to the cultivation of narcotic crops through the development of meaningful economic programmes. Those proposals have all been incorporated in General Assembly resolution 44/141, which, of course, is on the agenda of the special session. We very much hope that these proposals

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will be further elaborated in the global programme of action and that they will be implemented in timely fashion.

My delegation fully supports the recommendation that an intergovernmental group of experts from developed and developing countries should be established to analyse and develop the global programme, which we believe should be concrete, practical and operational. Jamaica believes that the group should include high-level officials with both technical expertise and a broad vision of the problem from, in particular, States affected by the drug problem, who can contribute from their experience in dealing with the complex issues that arise. My Government stands ready to participate in the work of that group of experts.

My delegation expects that this special session will constitute a categorical statement of our determination to deal with the multifaceted drug problem on a global basis. We are confident that the bold steps already under way in the international community augur well for a successful and positive outcome to the fight against illicit drugs. We are commited to lending full support to every effort to grapple with that phenomenon, which represents one of the most dangerous and pernicious issues of our times.

Mr. JOXE (France) (interpretation from French): The convening of this special session shows that the international community now acknowledges that the drug phenomenon constitutes a threat to the whole world.

In fact, the recent expansion of the phenomenon has suddenly forced us to question our thinking habits. It is true that corruption and the accumulation of wealth by illegal means are not exactly recent phenomena. We are also familiar with the means of exerting influence and the prosperity of organized crime networks. But in the space of only a few years the scale of the whole question has changed under the impact of the expansion of drug consumption and the profits that it produces.

(Mr. Joxe, France)

Drug trafficking has become a not insignificant part of international trade. A cocaine trafficker appears on the list of the world's wealthiest people. Criminal groups are more powerful than the regular armies of some of the States represented here today. Political leaders help themselves directly to drug profits. Police chiefs who not long ago led the delegations of their countries to international conferences are today charged with drug trafficking. Reputable banks find that, unknown to them, they have been managing the traffickers' money. Other banks have been found to be doing the same in full knowledge of the facts.

Furthermore, these are by no means isolated cases. A glance at the newspapers tells us that drugs are fostering wars, arming militias, financing apparently respectable businesses and providing a living for judges, lawyers, police officers, prison warders and many others.

This insidious penetration of the whole structure of our society is beginning to worry us. The foundations of the reassuring idea that power and success are respectable unless proved otherwise have been shaken. That idea greatly facilitated the consensus surrounding the social hierarchies and the mutual recognition of societies. We have now entered the age of suspicion.

Another reassuring idea was that, with the necessary desire to learn, perseverance and the assistance of experts from advanced countries, the peasants of the third world could attain a reasonable level of prosperity, after which a process of economic and social development could begin. But what are we to think when we find that it is less chancy, easier and more profitable for whole regions to cultivate the opium poppy or the coca plant rather than cereals? And what solution can we find to alleviate the current difficulties of the Latin American coffee planters?

(Mr. Joxe, France)

The voluntarist and optimistic theory of concerted development has been shaken by such paradoxes. And yet the coca, poppy and cannabis growers are not really all that privileged. They are often the victims of networks in the pay of the traffickers, when they are not the victims of the police or the army. What alternative do we have to offer them?

Finally, at the other end of the chain, we are all deeply aware that our future lies in our young people.

At the social level that awareness is the expression of a genetic impetus for the survival and progress of the species. We are obviously affected at the deepest level of our being when an adolescent close to us chooses the kind of death in life that consists of seeking refuge in heavy drug addiction - there are hundreds around us, but how many millions exist throughout the world?

When we move from the individual instance to the collective phenomenon we realize that it is our generation, that of the adults in charge of society, that is being challenged when a segment of our young people thus rejects the kind of world being offered them. A good part of that group is found mainly in areas in which we have been unable to provide material and moral conditions conducive to hope. We are thus faced with the result of our lack of sufficient attention, perhaps even of our indifference and, in any event, of our failures. And the reply we receive is not simply a reaction of flight. It is also one of aggression, because that marginalized society plays a part, as it were, in the larger game of economic and social exchanges through large-scale and small-scale crime, beginning with drug trafficking itself. All of this naturally frightens us.

In the face of these phenomena that exist everywhere - North, South, East and West - let no one try to divide us into producer and consumer countries, for we are all, actually or potentially, producers and consumers as well as transit countries. In countries with a tradition of opium cultivation the consumption of

(Mr. Joxe, France)

heroin is spreading rapidly among the most underprivileged young people. The same applies to cocaine among the poorest segments of the urban populations in the coca-producing countries. As for the so-called consumer countries, are they not producer countries as well, producing precursor products, producing processed products and producing psychotropic pharmaceutical products which, quite often sold without controls and consumed in a variety of cocktails, result in serious addictions, particularly in Africa today?

In view of that situation, should we - as we are constantly being told - decriminalize the use of and even the trade in all, or some, drugs? The advocates of such measures explain that that would mean that all or some of the means currently devoted to law enforcement could usefully be channelled into prevention and treatment measures. Supposedly, all those measures would also lead to a situation where, on the one hand, drug addition would be less conducive to crime because less expensive and, on the other hand, since the traffic would become less profitable it would then lose some or all of its interests for the networks of organized crime.

Such a presentation of the question tends to minimize a number of phenomena. Small- or large-scale decriminalization - that is, tolerance of some or all of the so-called soft drugs, the legalization of drug consumption alone or of its sale and traffic as well, or any possible combination of those possibilities - would result in a situation where drugs would be more available. And here, the findings of all the studies on the subject converge: the easier the access to a drug, the greater its consumption; the greater its consumption, the more drug dependence there is. This is where all the optimistic extrapolations based on the social and legal status of alcohol founder on the reality of the numbers. Approximately 7 per cent of those who consume alcohol on a daily basis may be classified as excessive consumers, with all the concomitant individual and collective health problems that

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entails. Where cannabis is concerned, the proportion of consumers who are unable to control their habit varies between 15 per cent and 50 per cent, depending on the samples. That figure rises to more than 90 per cent for cocaine and heroin users.

Some people champion the idea that only "soft" drugs should be tolerated, but that obviates the fact that to tolerate a soft-drug sales network means tolerating a network that has every economic reason, now or later on, to sell hard drugs as well - and back we go to square one. The solution of tolerating consumption while punishing traffic is an untenable contradiction: it is particularly untenable with regard to our young people, who at the very least expect from their elders a minimum of consistency in the definition of the law - namely, that it is a rule or, in philosophical terms, a categorical imperative.

Or should we regulate the traffic itself? That would result in two equally unacceptable situations. Either the State takes over the monopoly of transformation and distribution, in which case we ourselves become "death peddlers", in the words recently employed by President Mitterrand of France, or the drug trade becomes legal and the traffickers and their funds are legitimized. Their activity becomes a respectable one and there is no longer anything to prevent them from continuing to prosper by the methods that have already made them a fortune.

No, we have no choice. If we wish to keep faith with ourselves, we must continue to do battle, notwithstanding our doubts and our failures. Let us not forget that great waves of drug addiction were repelled in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1900 in China there were 90 million opium addicts in a population of 300 million. Although we have almost forgotten it, at the beginning of this century Europe and America had very serious drug-addiction problems, due mainly to the weakness of the regulations governing pharmaceutical products. In 1954 Japan had two million amphetamine users, of whom 500,000 used the drug

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intravenously. All those phenomena were eradicated by the energetic policies adopted at national and international levels. Surely, we too can follow the example of our elders.

Energetic policy does not mean only coercive policy, on the contrary. Coercion alone would be odious as well as ineffective. Taken in isolation, the individual components of a global policy can only be disappointing. Prevention campaigns are convincing mainly to those who would never use drugs in any case. Detoxication treatment gives no guarantee against relapse. Law enforcement never stops more than a small portion of the traffic and not enough of the large-scale traffickers. When large seizures are made the prices rise and the profits are therefore never affected. Crop substitution policies experience difficulty in going beyond the experimental stage. As far as the fight against the underlying causes is concerned - poor living conditions, family structures in ruins, unemployment, underdevelopment - it is obvious that solutions will only be found over a period of one or more generations.

And yet we must battle on all those fronts at once, for they all sustain one another. A small amount of progress on each of them represents a great deal of ground gained. While making progress in each sector, we must always maintain an overall view of the situation. No reduction in consumption can have a lasting effect if we lessen our efforts in the fields of education and prevention. None of the crop-eradication campaigns will ever yield positive results if we do not offer the producing regions a new economic stability; and if law enforcement is intensified, so must be compassion. The drug addict must never be abandoned to despair. We must do everything possible in concrete terms to enable him to re-enter society, and we must not allow ourselves to be discouraged by his weaknesses. Law enforcement itself must not be identified as a kind of "universal gaol". We need laws, judges and institutions that, while clearly indicating the

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punishment, offer real alternatives to imprisonment. Only one form of indulgence is forbidden us: that from which drug profiteers would draw advantage. They must be made to realize that we will never give in to resignation, that they will be punished and that they will never be allowed to enjoy their dirty money in peace.

Thus, the battle currently being waged by the Colombian Government is an exemplary one. In combating the large-scale drug traffickers, that great and noble friendly country is fighting for its security, for its honour as a nation, but for us as well. And, as such, it deserves our unstinting support.

That also applies to the other countries that are fighting with determination in the Andes, in Asia and elsewhere. Those cases demonstrate perfectly well the interaction of the national and international aspects of the problem. The fight at the national level, waged by the State authorities with the support of the population, is indispensable. Without that basis, all the rest is worthless. There are tasks that no one can perform in another's stead. That is where we touch on the unavoidable part of responsibility of each nation.*

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*Mr. Pawlak, Poland, Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Joxe, France)

But if each Government, each country, fights in isolation, without taking account of the others, the fight is also lost in advance. International traffic obviously takes no account of national borders. Indeed, it takes advantage of the fact that they exist - that is, of the geographical limits of the powers of each State. The differences in standards of living in the various regions of the world are also very much to its advantage since it is obviously in the interest of the traffic to have rich customers and poor producers. Therefore, it is of vital importance that we all stand together. It is also important that our solidarity should be manifested every day in increasingly concrete ways, bearing constantly in mind the fact that the fight against drugs must be integrated into the global fight against underdevelopment.

These forms of solidarity should be initiated at the subregional and regional levels. That is the first level for information collection and the search for solutions. The Irish presidency of the European Community has described here the efforts made by the Twelve to reach a higher level of co-operation on all the fronts of the battle. As far as my personal experience as Minister of the Interior is concerned, I am very happy to have participated last September in Vienna in the creation, under the aegis of the United Nations, of a European conference.

Shortly afterwards, in Kingston, where I represented France, I was gratified to see that the Caribbean States are mobilizing in order to fight against drug trafficking more effectively. In the Arab countries, we must pay a tribute to the work of the Arab Security Institute in Riyadh; I have been able to note personally the quality of that work. In Africa, in Asia, in Latin America solidarity groups are being set up; the Group of Eight is one example of that. It is important that such bodies should be established on a scale commensurate with the phenomena to be combated.

Finally, our solidarity must be manifested at the world level, and the United

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Nations has a leading role to play in that respect. France is convinced of that, and has confirmed that conviction by increasing its contribution to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC) and by contributing 1 million francs to the Division of Narcotic Drugs. France thereby makes it clear that it considers it necessary and possible to improve even further the co-ordination between the bodies in Vienna, and between the institutions of the United Nations.

Over and above that framework, all the organizations concerned in one way or another by the question should be mobilized. Europe is therefore involved. Allow me to refer here also to Africa, so depleted by the progress of this scourge. Our plans can and must concern all the fields of action I have mentioned, and, in particular, must not disregard the primary aid to prevention constituted by education - perhaps the most important of all the forms of action, because it is the first line of defence and the form where the relationship between cost and effectiveness is undoubtedly the closest.

Emphasis must obviously be placed on the need for police, customs and judicial co-operation. In this connection, I wish to echo the appeal made last November by President François Mitterrand to the INTERPOL General Assembly. Speaking of the need to exert equal and constant pressure, in space and in time, on all the aspects of the traffic, he highlighted our mutual interest in the availability in all countries of a high-quality police corps, well trained in the rules of law, familiar with modern combat and investigation techniques as well as banking and financial techniques. That led him to put forward the idea of an initiative by the Europe of the Twelve to set up a joint system for the training and recycling of high-ranking police officials.

Finally, I wish to state emphatically the importance that France attaches to the entry into force as soon as possible of the Vienna Convention against the Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances. It is true that for

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most of us this text poses complex problems of adaptation of our laws. But that only confirms how necessary this is, and in any event should not discourage us. In France we shall make every effort to ensure that the Convention is submitted without reservations to our Parliament for its approval, at the latest by the end of this year. It is important that each of the signatories should follow approximately the same schedule. Let us agree to consider the Vienna Convention as the foundation on which we are going to build international co-operation in the fight against drugs in the last decade of this century.

I should like to conclude with a reflection on freedom.

It has been claimed that the drug phenomenon develops in permissive societies which no longer dare to impose on their members those bodies of thought and rules of behaviour known as ideologies. Some of those who live in the societies thus described sometimes seem to regret the days when a global explanation of the world - at times a grand plan - governed, willy nilly, everyone's life. Today, in the absence of an external impetus, in the absence of terms of reference, the empty space of freedom is said to encourage all kinds of drifting. Drugs as a cure for anxiety, as an unbounded pleasure, are said to lie at the end of that road. A cure for anxiety, perhaps, but only a very temporary cure, it must be agreed, and the worst of all prisons, even if it is an invisible one. Are we really to believe that the ultimate models of our societies are either the great collective camp of imposed ideologies or the juxtaposed cells of legal or illegal psychic and chemical dependencies?

No, the society of freedom in which we believe obviously reaches higher than that choice. In reality, it contains its internal exiles: poverty, unemployment, exclusion. It is none the less founded on the idea of freedom as a positive right whereby each individual can develop without hindrance his own specific faculties. The physiological basis for the exercise of that freedom is the functioning of his

(Mr. Joxe, France)

body and his brain in perfect balance. In 1865, in his "Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine", the world-famous French physiologist Claude Bernard wrote that

"the organic equilibrium of the internal body is the prerequisite for a free life".

This brilliant linking of nature with culture places the fight against drugs at the service of freedom. In fact, our battle can be summed up in a single sentence: we must convince our young people that we have only one body, which must not be desecrated; only one life, which must not be wasted; and only one world, which it is therefore our duty to help protect and construct.

Mr. GACIC (Yugoslavia) (interpretation from Russian): I am pleased to congratulate Ambassador Garba on his election as President of this important special session of the General Assembly - the first special session devoted to narcotic substances in almost a century-long history of international co-operation in this field.

I should like also to express my Government's appreciation to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for the role he has played in the realization of this important initiative.

It is an honour for me to state, on behalf of my Government, my country's views on one of the most pressing problems facing the world today.

The whole range of international conventions and agreements adopted to date and of ongoing activities in certain countries and at the international level have been insufficient to halt the increasing drug abuse and illicit trafficking. Nowadays there is no country that has not in some way been confronted by this terrible problem. Clearly it is no longer enough to combat the obvious consequences of the problem; we now know that in order to achieve any real success we must address the underlying social, economic and political roots of this scourge.

(Mr. Gacic, Yugoslavia)

Yugoslavia is not a country where either the demand for or the supply of drugs is excessive. Our basic problem is illicit trafficking. That puts us in the front line of international co-operation in the area of narcotics. Our geographical position between countries of large demand and supply makes us particularly vulnerable. The openness of our borders, the freedom of movement of our nationals and foreigners, the intensive regular transit of goods and passengers and the influx of tourists in the summer months make our position even more pronounced and precarious.

That particular geographical and political position of my country is reflected in its active, resolute approach to the problem of drug abuse. The enormous illicit transit of narcotics across its territory poses the constant threat that the illicit shipments will be distributed within the country and that drug abuse will be increased. We are fully aware that the treatment of addicts and the suppression of drug abuse and its negative consequences do not yield satisfactory results. Only preventive measures can be truly effective. Our programmes for combating drug abuse within our country are therefore based on preventive measures in all areas: education, mass media, health and welfare services, customs, police, the judiciary and national defence. In Yugoslavia we have carried out co-ordinated measures and activities on a regular basis to eliminate the causes of drug abuse; these have achieved certain results. The comprehensive programme adopted at the 1987 International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking bears out the validity of our approach.

Yugoslavia's contribution to the international campaign against drug abuse consists primarily in the detection of illegal shipments of narcotics and in the effective measures it has taken against international criminals who control illicit trafficking. That is unquestionably a substantial contribution to international efforts to suppress this evil and a preventive measure of no small size.

(Mr. Gacic, Yugoslavia)

As a transit country, Yugoslavia believes that the new Convention against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances will be an important instrument for greater co-operation among law-enforcement agencies, for improving the training of personnel and for providing better equipment for services directly involved in preventing illicit trafficking, in particular to enable them to interdict more effectively drug running by illegal or semi-legal criminal organizations and to undermine their financial power.

Agreement was reached at the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Balkan countries, held in February 1988 at Belgrade, on holding regular meetings of representatives of specialized bodies charged with combating terrorism, the illegal arms trade and trafficking in narcotic drugs.

At the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking two and a half years ago we made a political commitment and adopted guidelines for long-term action in this field. We must now define concrete tasks and establish goals and deadlines. The new Convention provides a legal framework for the international achievement of those goals.*

We believe it is necessary within the framework of international co-operation to ensure assistance by developed to developing countries, by establishing concrete programmes and projects in the context of the application of the 1988 Convention.

Disparate living standards in today's world and the ruthless struggle to market the produce of the developing countries are among the reasons why the poorer segments of the population in these countries are so desperate to produce such a marketable commodity even if this commodity is narcotic drugs. They have no other choice. This confirms the fact that developing and developed countries need to

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Gacic, Yugoslavia)

work together and elaborate programmes to ensure the quicker development of the least developed countries so that they can attain levels of economic and social development to make more equitable relations in world trade possible.

At their ninth summit Conference, held in Belgrade in September 1989, the non-aligned countries voiced concern at the growing demand for narcotic drugs; they considered this the prime catalyst for both illicit production and illicit trafficking, especially since developing countries are in an especially difficult situation in this respect. The document on narcotics adopted at the ninth summit Conference stressed the interrelation among illicit production, trafficking and consumption, and the economic, social and cultural conditions of the countries affected by this evil.

The realities of the world economy unfortunately show increasingly that imbalances and inequities are becoming more entrenched.

The economic and social situation in the majority of developing countries is deteriorating dramatically. For the most part, their growth and development are stagnating or experiencing negative growth. Their economic and social fabric has been seriously strained, and in many instances their political stability is at risk. It is clear that developing countries are pursuing their economic objectives in a most unfavourable external environment.

In addressing these problems on a global scale we must not lose sight of the fact that the bulk of mankind, especially in the developing countries, is weighed down by a debt burden of $1.3 trillion, which increases by $15 million a day. Unless those most important problems are addressed, there can be no development, no health and no effective struggle against the illegal production, traffic and consumption of narcotic drugs, since the debt burden in developing countries exceeds 40 per cent - and in some cases 100 per cent - of their national product. It is therefore necessary to secure funds from other sources as well if we truly

(Mr. Gacic, Yugoslavia)

want a global plan of action against narcotic drugs to be implemented in practice and not remain a dead letter.

(Mr. Gacic, Yugoslavia)

We are convinced that the developed countries perceive those problems in a similar way and that we are all in agreement that the global programme of action should be consistently implemented, within individual countries, in co-operation between various countries and within the United Nations system. We propose that at this session the General Assembly launch an initiative to the effect that a portion of the repayment of debts of developing countries be reallocated for the purpose of implementing certain projects under the global programme of action. We also propose that the highly developed countries in particular join in that action by channelling their balance-of-payments surpluses into the struggle against the illegal demand, supply and traffic in narcotic drugs, and that, in addition to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, the following institutions take part in the implementation of the global programme of action: the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme and other international agencies that can contribute in this area. It is obvious that, without substantial financial and technical support, the programme cannot be implemented.

In conclusion, I should like to express my Government's satisfaction and hope that the global programme of action to be initiated at this session will establish concrete obligations for all of us and entrust the United Nations with the task of guiding the overall action.

Mr. BAKER (United States of America): These are promising times for the world community. From South Africa to Eastern Europe, from the democratic movements in Asia to the new generation of democratic leaders in Latin America, today we are hearing the stirring cry of freedom. People of faith, conviction and courage are struggling and prevailing against difficult odds.

The old world of dogmatic dictatorships is on its way out. Tragic throwbacks to repression really only serve to remind us that the new world of secure,

(Mr. Baker, United States)

prosperous and just democracies has not yet arrived. And it is not going to come automatically. We all must work to bring it into being and to ensure that it will last.

Global war brought the Organization into existence in 1945. And it was with solemn determination that the United Nations founders pledged, in the opening words of our Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Especially now, at this promising time, it is critical for the nations of the world to recall the fundamental aims that unite us. For, if we fail to support the goals of the United Nations Charter - peace, human dignity, justice, respect for sovereign rights and international law, concern for the well-being of all the world's peoples - if we fail to do our utmost to achieve those aims, we could end up living in a future that resembles our troubled past.

Even as we work together to eliminate war and conflict, there are of course other troubles that will not wait and that are bringing untold sorrow to mankind. Even as we heed the cry of freedom and democracy, we must not fail to hear another cry. That cry is not the affirmation of freedom but rather its negation; not the uplifting of democracy but its degradation. It is the call of the drug addict. That cry concerns all of us, and that cry is urgent. We hear it close to home - to my home, to your home, and to the homes of our neighbours in the world community. None of us, not one nation, remains untouched. None of us, not one, is safe from the danger of drugs.

Drugs pose a serious threat to global security. We are here at this special session because we recognize this bitter truth. We fully recognize the growing importance of combating drugs. I particularly wish to thank the Governments that have played leading roles in preparing the agenda that is now before us.

I would like to review for the Assembly the comprehensive approach that my Government is taking to help rid my country and the world of illicit drugs. First,

(Mr. Baker, United States)

I will describe America's national drug strategy, which centres on the need to reduce the use of drugs at home. Secondly, I want to share with the Assembly the results of the summit in Cartagena, where President Bush and the leaders of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru formed the world's first anti-drug cartel. Finally, I will offer my Government's thoughts on how the United Nations can best assist in the global fight against narcotics.

First, then, is our national drug strategy. The American people consider drugs the number one problem facing the United States of America. Winning the war against drugs is a top priority for President Bush and therefore a top foreign policy priority for me. The Bureau for International Narcotics Matters at the Department of State, ably led by Assistant Secretary Mel Levitsky, has done a first-rate job of ensuring that narcotics control issues are fully integrated into our diplomatic efforts.

Our drug control strategy calls for an attack on the drug problem in all its aspects: consumption, trafficking, illicit production, treatment and rehabilitation. My Government is placing greater emphasis than ever before on preventive education programmes, treatment and rehabilitation. We aim to stop the trafficking in all illicit drugs, not just cocaine. Heroin, marijuana and the so-called designer drugs are also major threats. And we are attacking the problems of domestic cultivation and trafficking.

This kind of comprehensive approach calls, of course, for increased resources. Since the Bush Administration took office the domestic anti-drug budget has increased 67 per cent, to $7.6 billion. And our international anti-drug budget, including border and offshore interdiction efforts, has increased 73 per cent to $3.1 billion.

We fully recognize that attacking the problem of domestic consumption is our most critical challenge. As long as the demand for drugs by Americans remains

(Mr. Baker, United States)

voracious, our nation faces an endless uphill struggle to halt supply. We are, however, making progress. Domestic drug use dropped 37 per cent from 1985 to 1988, and cocaine use was cut in half over the same period. But we have a long, long way to go.

We are determined that drug users in the United States face the hard facts: their behaviour is simply more than just a personal indulgence. American users act as paymasters to organized murderers. Profits from every kilo of cocaine bought in the streets of America buy the bullets that rob democracies of their dignity and freedom. American users aid and abet the drug cartels, which in turn foment and exploit regional and global instability. When Americans feed their habits and enrich the cartels it is like giving succour to terrorists. American users are accessories to criminals who poison children. Their habits also contribute to the murder of the land. Coca farmers have destroyed acres of forest lands; traffickers have dumped millions of gallons of precursor chemicals into rivers.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

I regret to say that narcotics has become a big business, a very, very big business, in my country. Last fall in Los Angeles agents seized 22 tonnes of warehouse cocaine. If all the kilo packages we seized were stacked one on top of the other the pile would be a mile and a half high; that is a mountain of misery half the height of the tallest mountain in the continental United States. It was estimated that the street value of the seized cocaine exceeded the individual gross national product of well over 100 of the nations represented in this Hall today. And this was just one warehouse. Imagine the veritable Mount Everests of misery that we have not found.

Thus, consumption and supply, dependency and exploitation, greed and violence, become a vicious circle - in truth, like a dragon chasing its tail. That circle of misery and death simply must be broken. America is helping to break it, both at home and with our partners abroad.

This brings me to my second topic: last Thursday's summit in Colombia. As members know, President Bush and I travelled to Cartagena, where we met with our counterparts from Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. In Cartagena the summit partners pledged to attack the merchants of death and drugs from every angle: production, distribution, finance and use. President Bush was unequivocal in his commitment to reducing the demand for drugs in the United States. We agreed that it was pointless to apportion the blame as between producer nations and consumer nations; narcotics are a deadly threat to all nations exposed to them. We and our summit colleagues are determined to break the back of crack and to put illicit cartels out of business.

By going to Cartagena the President demonstrated our country's absolute determination to fight the drug war for however long it takes. We have assured our partners that we will not fail to support them as they fight as well.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

As part of our support, from fiscal 1989 to fiscal year 1991 the United States will increase sevenfold its international drug budget for Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. Our total economic assistance will more than double to those Andean nations next year as they undertake tough counter-narcotics programmes and apply sound economic policies.

It was fitting that the summit was held in Colombia. We applaud Colombia's courageous decision to seize and destroy laboratories; arrest and prosecute narcotics offenders; extradite traffickers and money launderers; and challenge the cocaine empire. No nation has so bravely confronted the drug lords or made greater sacrifices. No nation here can remain indifferent to Colombia's fate. The scale of drug-related violence in Colombia is horrific, even to those among us who have experienced at first hand the violence that has been so sadly a part of our turbulent century.

In one short and brutal decade in Colombia the Medellin and Cali traffickers killed over 1,000 public officials, 12 Supreme Court justices, over two dozen journalists and more than 200 judges and judicial personnel, not to mention the scores of men, women and children who happened to be going about their daily lives in the wrong place at the wrong time. And no amount of laundering can wash the blood off money stained by drugs. The so-called kings of cocaine are criminals, criminals of uncommon power and uncommon brutality.

Time and again President Barco has put his own life on the line to free his nation from the deadly grip of the drug cartels. Together with President Barco, Presidents Bush, Garcia and Paz all recognize their responsibility to take the lead in combating cocaine, our common enemy.

Together at Cartagena we reaffirmed the need for development, trade and investment to strengthen growth-oriented economic policies in order to offset the

(Mr. Baker, United States)

economic costs of counter-narcotics programmes. We agreed to work in concert to heighten public awareness of the debilitating effects that drug production, trafficking and abuse have on our respective countries. We agreed to provide economic assistance to help strengthen the legitimate economies of the Andean nations. And we agreed to strengthen the law enforcement capabilities of our countries to bring traffickers to justice. President Bush told his Andean colleagues that he would raise these issues with the G-7 nations at the Houston economic summit and with other developed countries as well. The United States seeks to improve and strengthen narcotics consultation and co-operation with other developed countries to bolster international support for producer-country counter-narcotics efforts.

Finally, we and our Andean colleagues agreed to urge all countries to ratify as soon as possible the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances. When ratified, the 1988 Convention will foster world-wide co-operation in such areas as money laundering, asset seizure, precursor chemical control, extradition, investigation, intelligence gathering and information sharing. I am pleased to report that President Bush signed the instrument of ratification for the United States on 13 February and we have deposited the signed instrument of ratification with the United Nations today.

Ratification by all countries will help us in regional efforts to combat cocaine and also increase world-wide co-operation against illicit drugs of all kinds.

By fostering world-wide co-operation the United Nations plays a very crucial role. It is imperative that we make maximum use of the United Nations instruments and of the United Nations system as a whole to buttress our efforts at the national and regional levels.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

There is no country here that is so proud or so great as to be able to rid itself of drugs without the help of other nations; nor is there any country here so small that it cannot support in some way this important international effort. Together we can work more effectively than in isolation. We can accomplish more in concert than we can at odds with one another. This special session affords us all, the community of nations, an opportunity to work together decisively against drugs.

We must seize the opportunity now, because if we let it pass our inaction will condemn more children to suffering and want, more families to destruction, and more Governments to the assaults of drug cartels, and more of the threats that hold together the very fabric of civilized society will unravel.

That is why President Bush and I are convinced of the timeliness and efficacy of this special session. We have the opportunity to set an action-oriented course for the United Nations system.

It is my Government's hope that adoption of the global programme of action and related political declaration will take us considerably closer to ridding the international community of the drug scourge, provided of course that the programme commits us to concrete activities, that it is fully implemented by the United Nations agencies of the system, and that it is backed by complementary efforts at national and regional levels. Certainly, we the Member Governments cannot ask the United Nations to do things that we are unwilling to do at home; nor can we ask the United Nations to undertake ambitious programmes without financial backing and a strong infrastructure with which to carry them out. We must order our priorities in such a way as to achieve our aims within the framework of a unitary approach to the entire United Nations system and through zero real programme growth in budgets.

The global programme of action will reinforce the solid foundation that we have built already. By this I mean the two established international drug control treaties now in effect and the new Convention against illicit trafficking, which I

(Mr. Baker, United States)

mentioned earlier. In addition we have other mandates, such as those contained in the Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline from the 1987 international drug Conference and United Nations General Assembly resolution 44/141, adopted in December of last year.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

All these documents give us the legal and programme basis, as well as the clear authority, to proceed. So let us use these tools effectively before we endeavour to write new treaties. We want to strengthen our system-wide efforts and ensure maximum co-operation, co-ordination and efficiency in the conduct of all United Nations programmes.

To be sure, there is a good case for improving and reinforcing our multilateral infrastructure. We agree that member countries should allocate more resources to United Nations anti-drug efforts in order to complement domestic counter-narcotics efforts. We are more committed than ever to working with other Governments so that the United Nations system may be a stronger, more responsive partner in the drug fight. President Bush and I are hopeful that, with the help of the Secretary-General and all Member States, the global programme of action will energize a dynamic drug control effort of truly world-wide scope.

In our global war against drugs we regard as natural allies all nations sharing the resolve to resist this scourge. Traditional friends and traditional adversaries alike must pool their efforts. Indeed, many of us have already joined forces, despite political and economic differences. Together we will combat the multinational drug empires on every front. Together we will hold to account any Government that grants safe haven to drug profiteers, that actively permits the laundering of money, that turns a blind and uncaring eye to drug abuse and drug trafficking. We will give no quarter.

I began these remarks by saying that we are living in promising times. Freedom and democracy are in the ascendancy; yet they face some formidable odds. Undoubtedly, drugs are among their mortal enemies, for freedom and democracy are universal ideals that speak to the dignity of every individual. If these ideals are to be realized, every individual must make his or her own contribution to society and to the world community. An individual caught in the grip of drugs

(Mr. Baker, United States)

becomes a slave, no longer a free or responsible person. And the same thing can happen to entire nations.

But such tragedies do not have to happen, not to our citizens, not to our countries, not to the world community. It is up to us, each of us, all of us together. A great deal is at stake. We know that we cannot cleanse the world of drugs in one generation. Yet I believe that I am justified in ending my remarks on an optimistic note. More than ever before nations all over the world are working together on the global drug problem. The United Nations has greatly helped to bring this about.

From the Soviet Union to Jamaica, from Spain to Malaysia, nations are joining forces in the fight against narcotics. We, the peoples of the world, must keep up the fight: in the deep jungles and mountain valleys where coca and poppies are grown; in the urban jungles ruled by corruption and cruelty; in shadowy back rooms where drug-stained money is laundered; and in the dark recesses of the soul - there, perhaps, most of all.

Now, today, for the sake of our children and our grandchildren, we must do all that is humanly possible to rid God's good earth of the evil scourge of drugs.

Mr. SHIMOINABA (Japan) (spoken in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I should like, first, to express heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the important post of President of the General Assembly at this special session on narcotic drugs. I am confident that your wealth of experience and keen insight will ensure that this is a very productive session. You may be assured that the Japanese delegation will be unstinting in its co-operation as you fulfu' your solemn responsibilities. At the same time, I should like to express my profound respect for your many outstanding accomplishments during your tenure in 1989 of the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session.

(Mr. Shimoinaba, Japan)

It is incumbent upon the international community, as it strives to achieve world prosperity, to ensure that people all over the globe may live in peace and free from fear, and that a social milieu conducive to a wholesome and healthy life is maintained. People who abuse drugs are doing great harm to their own physical and mental health, causing their families enormous anguish, and destroying the fabric of society. Action must therefore be taken with urgency by the international community. With the spread of illicit drug trafficking internationally, the drug problem has become a matter of major global concern, and the peoples of all nations must join in the efforts to combat it. Producing countries, transit countries and consuming countries must all co-operate closely with each other in tackling the problem.

The organizations concerned within the framework of the United Nations have been addressing the issue of drug abuse and illicit trafficking. It is expected that more than before these organizations will play a pivotal role in addressing this global problem. It is earnestly hoped that they will carry out effective and efficient activities, while strengthening their own functions in this area.

In recent years more and more countries and organizations have been courageously tackling the drug problem, which is fraught with difficulties. Just five days ago the Andean summit was successfully held at Cartagena in Colombia. Japan pays a high tribute to the leaders of the United States and of the three Andean countries for their firm determination to fight against the drug problem in that region.

(Mr. Shimoinaba, Japan)

My delegation strongly supports the holding of this special session of the General Assembly, which clearly demonstrates the recognition shared by the States represented here of the seriousness of the drug problem and the need for international co-operation in combating it. In particular it was of historic significance that the resolution on the convening of this special session on narcotic drugs was adopted by consensus, with a sponsorship of 123 countries, during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, last year.

According to statistics gathered by the United Nations, the amount of drugs confiscated each year increased dramatically from 1977 to 1988; that is, the amount of heroin seized increased sevenfold; marijuana, eighteenfold; and cocaine, thirty-eightfold. But these figures describe merely the tip of the iceberg. The actual extent of illicit drug use in many countries may be 10 or even 100 times greater than present estimates. Compounding this problem is the fact that organized groups of criminals are reaping huge profits from illicit drug trafficking. Thus not only is great harm being done to the physical and mental health of people who themselves abuse drugs, but drug abuse is bringing huge profits to those involved in organized drug trafficking, thereby encouraging their antisocial behaviour and criminal activities. The existence of this underground economy is a serious impediment to the healthy economic and social development of the countries concerned.

Drug abuse should be fought on four fronts, namely supply, distribution, demand and rehabilitation. My delegation considers that drug abuse can be controlled more effectively through basic education than through dealing with cases individually. We therefore believe that it is important to launch an education and public relations campaign against drug abuse at the international level by mobilizing the United Nations and the specialized agencies. In this regard my delegation supports the idea of proclaiming a United Nations Decade against Drug

(Mr. Shimoinaba, Japan)

Abuse, as suggested in General Assembly resolution 44/141. Furthermore it is important that nation-building be promoted with the co-operation of countries throughout the world with a view to solving the drug problem in producing countries. At the same time, however, efforts to ban and control drug production must be accompanied by the reduction of demand for illicit drugs in consuming countries. Strong measures to reduce demand must therefore be vigorously pursued. The World Ministerial Summit to Reduce Demand for Drugs and to Combat the Cocaine Threat, which will be held in London this April, is of great relevance to this issue, and Japan appreciates the initiative taken by the British Government in this regard.

As far as the issue of money laundering is concerned, the Government of Japan has been taking an active part in the Financial Action Task Force that was convened following the Economic Declaration of the Arche Summit in 1989 in the belief that that problem too is one requring the urgent attention of the international community. Japan will spare no effort as it continues to work for the solution of the problem.

Thanks to the dedicated efforts of its law enforcement authorities, Japan has been relatively fortunate as far as the drug problem is concerned. However, Japan cannot be indifferent because the unlawful import of stimulant drugs as well as marijuana and heroin remains a problem, and cocaine smuggling is reportedly rising steadily. Apart from these domestic concerns, Japan is deeply aware that today the drug problem is one that undermines the dignity of people throughout the world. In accordance with one of the main pillars of Japan's diplomatic policy - its international co-operation initiative, which seeks to contribute to world peace and prosperity - Japan is prepared to tackle vigorously, in a manner proportionate to its status in the international community, the drug problem, which, together with environmental problems, is posing an ever greater threat to human beings.

(Mr. Shimoinaba, Japan)

From that standpoint, first, Japan will participate actively in international talks taking place under the auspices of the United Nations and other organizations so that it might share its own experience and expertise in the area of drug control.

Secondly, Japan will make even greater efforts with regard to the control of drugs at points of entry. Last December Japan signed the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances. Japan will endeavour to make the adjustments which would be required within its domestic legal system for the ratification of the Convention.

Thirdly, Japan has been holding seminars on the control of drug-related offences for Government officials from countries mainly in Asia and Latin America. In the belief that economic and technical co-operation can be effective, Japan will positively consider ways of extending to producing countries bilateral co-operation - such as agricultural development assistance to foster the cultivation of substitute crops - with a view to contributing to the solution of the drug problem by assisting economic and social development in producing countries.

Fourthly, Japan will further support the activities of the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, which has been playing a focal role in dealing with drug issues, while stressing the importance of further enhancing inter-agency co-ordination among the relevant United Nations organizations.

All of us must redouble our efforts to combat drug abuse throughout the world. Japan is all too aware that the complete eradication of drugs in the areas of illicit production, distribution and demand will be an extraordinarily difficult task. I should like to emphasize that each country must adopt stringent measures to tackle this problem before international co-operation can become truly effective.

This special session provides a unique opportunity for Member States to discuss in depth the broad range of issues involved, to reaffirm their

(Mr. Shimoinaba, Japan)

determination and commitment to take on the fight against drug abuse, and to formulate a world-wide plan of action for the international community. My delegation sincerely hopes that the session will be productive by adopting a realistic and substantive global programme of action and a political declaration that will strengthen the efforts of the international community in addressing the drug problem.

Mr. MOCK (Austria): Throughout the past decade we have faced a dramatic increase in drug abuse and illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs. The drug problem has assumed alarming dimensions, threatening States in all parts of the world, regardless of their economic, social and political structures.

The scourge of drug abuse threatens the health and well-being of millions of people, in particular the youth. We have to succeed in building up a strong alliance for the progress of mankind vigorously to combat this evil. World wide an estimated 48 million people regularly use drugs. The adverse impacts of the illicit use of narcotic drugs are not of a social nature above. Drug abuse has severe effects on the labour force and, therefore, on productivity as a whole. The sheer volume of illicit production and traffic and the vast sums of money involved distort the process of economic and social development in a growing number of States. Administrative and judicial structures are being threatened in their very existence, to the extent of endangering public security and political stability. The report of the International Narcotics Control Board for 1989 reflects this grave situation.

The fight to control drugs is a global challenge. States are no longer in a position to combat this problem on their own. Thus, increased international co-operation is called for, particularly since the efforts made so far by the international community have not succeeded in eradicating this scourge. The interlocking network of criminal drug trafficking organizations, heavily financed and armed, has become even more ruthless. The danger of undermining and paralysing the political institutions and economies of some countries has never been greater. Following a recommendation by the President of Colombia, therefore, the General Assembly, at its forty-fourth session, decided to convene a special session to address all aspects of the drug problem and give the fight against drugs a new impetus.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The recent meeting in Cartagena constituted a very important event in the fight against drug abuse, and we commend that initiative of the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the United States.

Austria welcomes the holding of this special session, which, by the adoption of a political declaration and a global programme of action, will send a clear and strong signal on the highest political level of the international community's commitment to the fight against drug abuse. It is a great honour for my country that the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations, Ambassador Hohenfellner, has been entrusted with the chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee and the main Committee of this special session.

Austria is firmly committed to participation in the international community's fight against illicit drugs. However, we acknowledge the need to tackle the drug problem on a national level.

Austria is affected by illicit drug consumption and, in particular, by illicit transit traffic. As far as consumption is concerned, 22 per cent of the drugs abused in Austria are heroin and cocaine. As in other European countries, at present the consumption of heroin is not increasing, while the abuse of cocaine is.

The fear of contracting AIDS has led to a sharp decrease in intravenous injection of narcotic drugs. However, there are still about 10,000 persons registered in Austria who take drugs by intravenous injection. In order to counteract the danger of AIDS and hepatitis, needles for injections are being distributed by pharmacies at no cost.

As part of my country's anti-drug campaign, a substitution programme using methadone has been carried out since 1987 in order to turn drug addicts away from so-called hard drugs. In 1989 the number of participants in this programme stood at around 1,000.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

As a country affected not so much by drug abuse as by illicit transit traffic in narcotic drugs, Austria has consistently increased its efforts in close co-operation with neighbouring States and the intergovernmental organizations concerned to combat such criminal activities. One of the main aspects of this fight is the strict control of the transit traffic of passengers and goods. The seizure in 1989 of 200 kilograms of cannabis products, 99 kilograms of heroin and 91 kilograms of cocaine, as well as 3,200 units of LSD, clearly demonstrates the efficiency of the Austrian customs and police authorities.

Austria years ago introduced legislation to control drug-related crime. This occurred at a time when the drug problem had not yet received the attention and priority on the international level that it is receiving today.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The Austrian Penal Code provides severe penal sanctions for big-scale drug dealers. Less severe sanctions are foreseen for occasional or dependent drug users. However, the pre-condition for the success of this two-fold policy is that the minor offenders benefitting from the leniency of the law are subject to medical, therapeutical, educational and social measures instead of penal and repressive ones. Austria has had very good experience with that policy and wishes to maintain it in the future.

The laundering or transferring of proceeds derived from drug-related crimes is subject to the penal provisions for the receiving of goods and proceeds from an offence under the Second Anti-Corruption Bill of 1982. Since the 1987 Amendment to the Penal Code the Austrian courts have the possibility of seizing illegal proceeds. In order to counteract the removal or disguise of such proceeds that Amendment empowers the courts to issue provisional court orders to freeze illegal proceeds derived from drug-related crimes. In recent months the Austrian courts have made use of those instruments to freeze the presumably illegal drug money of the Medellin cartel and in the Noriega case.

The Austrian Government considers the conclusion at Vienna in December 1988 of the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances to be a milestone in our common struggle to acquire control of the drug problem. Austria is a signatory to the Convention and is currently preparing its ratification.

Austria, together with 14 other States, has participated in the so-called financial-action task force established during the last summit meeting of the group of the seven largest industrialized countries. That task force has prepared its final report, which will be presented at the next summit meeting of the Group of Seven. The report of the task force contains a number of recommendations aimed at

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

curbing money laundering through the tighter monitoring of financial flows and through tighter international co-operation in this respect. Since the international illicit traffic in narcotic drugs is vulnerable where financial transactions take place, such strict control of financial transactions and forfeiture of drug proceeds contributes to tackling that problem at its very base. I should note here that the Austrian delegation on the task force joined in the efforts that led to the successful conclusion of the group's deliberations.

The meetings of heads of national drug law-enforcement agencies have been very successful in furthering regional co-operation in the field of drug-abuse control. We are very pleased that, on an Austrian initiative, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs recommended at its last session the establishment of a European Heads of National Law Enforcement Agencies (HONLEA), which will enable all European States to exchange experience and to work closely together in drug-related matters.

We have come together at a high political level to show our unwavering commitment to the fight against the scourge of drug abuse. To that end we shall adopt a political declaration and a global programme of action listing a comprehensive catalogue of measures to be fully and speedily implemented.

At this point let me mention briefly a few of the aspects that ought to be addressed in the global programme of action. The international community has realized that the problems connected with illicit drugs, both their supply and demand, require a comprehensive approach that will take into account all the causes and aspects of those problems, as well as their interdependence.

To deal effectively with the sector of illicit demand for narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, the causes generating its alarming increase have to be analysed and the necessary measures to combat them at their roots must be identified.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Next, information and education programmes have to be worked out in order to prevent drug abuse and to increase awareness of its harmful effects. In that context non-governmental organizations should be involved with a view to encouraging initiatives and programmes at the grass-root level.

The international community is unanimous in calling for a reduction in the demand for illicit drugs. This is also demonstrated by the fact that the Government of the United Kingdom, in co-operation with the United Nations, is organizing a world ministerial summit meeting to reduce the demand for drugs and to combat the cocaine threat. Further, the 1987 International Conference on Drug Abuse, the 1988 Plenipotentiary Conference for the conclusion of the new United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and, most recently, the last session of the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs have dealt in particular with the demand aspect. It is noteworthy that the consumer countries themselves attending all those conferences have stressed the urgent need for a reduction in the demand for illicit drugs.

In view of the fact that drug-demand reduction is a matter of priority, the elaboration of a universal instrument in the field of demand reduction merits further consideration. The Commission on Narcotic Drugs should consider this question on the basis of the views presented by member States. We particularly welcome the emphasis put on measures for demand reduction in the draft global programme of action. We fully agree with President Bush that we need major efforts on the demand side and a major initiative.

National programmes in the social, legal and penal fields for the social reintegration, rehabilitation and treatment of drug abusers and drug-addicted offenders are necesesary to achieve long-lasting positive results. Such programmes should respect the basic human-rights standards.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

As far as the control of the supply of illicit drugs is concerned, the question of eradication and substitution of illicit cultivation calls for further attention, bearing in mind the protection of the environment. When dealing with the question of the eradication of illicit cultivation we have to be aware of the fact that the revitalization of economies, the achievement of higher standards of living, the elimination of poverty and the creation of employment are factors closely linked to the question of whether it will be possible to stop the production of raw materials for narcotic drugs and to launch successful crop-substitution programmes instead.

Incentives for crop substitution should be identified and the conclusion of bilateral and regional arrangements facilitating the marketing of crop-substitution products has to be considered.

It might be useful if the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to international economic co-operation were to address the developmental aspects of the drug problem. Those aspects could also form an integral part of the international development strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The United Nations has already achieved impressive results in the field of drug abuse control. The Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline, adopted by the 1987 Vienna Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, and the 1988 Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances are milestones in the international community's common fight against the increasing drug problem. At this point let me commend the excellent work of the United Nations drug control units and, in particular, the untiring efforts of the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Vienna, Miss Margaret Joan Anstee, in her capacity as the co-ordinator of all United Nations drug-control-related activities.

It is my firm conviction that the United Nations will also have to play a central and enhanced role in countering this threat in the future. The full implementation of existing and future mandates for the United Nations drug units, in particular the Division of Narcotic Drugs and the International Narcotics Control Board and its secretariat, as well as for the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, requires the allocation of additional resources, both budgetary and extrabudgetary.

The increasingly deteriorating situation in the field of drug abuse calls for international solidarity in the fight against this scourge. It poses a challenge to all Governments and all nations. It is also a task requiring increased efforts by the United Nations, called upon to play a leading role in the world-wide war against drugs.

The present climate of ever-better understanding should greatly contribute to our common endeavours, which have culminated in the current special session of the General Assembly. Let us hope that the strong political commitment expressed on this occasion will bring forth fruitful results that can enable our common goal - a twenty-first century free of drugs - to be achieved.

Mr. GHAFAR (Malaysia): It is a great pleasure for me personally and for my delegation to see you, Sir, presiding over the seventeenth special session of the General Assembly. You have proved your skills in conducting the work of the forty-fourth session of the Assembly and the special session on the question of apartheid held some weeks ago. I am confident that you will be able to carry out your stewardship of this special session in similar fashion. I pledge the full co-operation of my delegation in ensuring the success of our deliberations. We fully appreciate the confidence shown in Malaysia by the States Members of the United Nations in electing it one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole. We are deeply honoured.

The special session is certainly a very important forum in the ongoing international campaign against the scourge of drugs. We are now at the crossroads. We face an enemy which exists everywhere. The war against this enemy calls for our ingenuity and courage in fighting it at all levels of society. This war is a total war. It requires a comprehensive, balanced and multidisciplinary strategy.

The decade of the 1980s saw the convergence of interests within the international community designed to increase international co-operation in combating the drug problem that had already been developing over nearly 80 years. Two major steps were taken in this direction: first, the convening of the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking and the adoption of the Conference's Declaration and the Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline of Future Activities in Drug Abuse Control, in 1987; and, secondly, the adoption of the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, in 1988.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

International co-operation against drugs must be developed further. The commitment of Governments to fighting the drug problem must be sustained. We should not succumb to despair and hopelessness or give in to the argument that the best way to deal with the problem is to legalize illicit narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. Such a course of action would be disastrous indeed. Legalization in one country will not solve the drug problem in another. Global legalization would be catastrophic to mankind.*

Couragenous action by one or two Governments in facing up to the challenge posed by powerful and organized drug traffickers will not be sufficient to make a major impact worldwide. Only co-ordinated and concerted action by all Governments will make a difference. My delegation commends all those Governments which have persevered in their fight against the drug problem.

The drug problem cannot be dealt with by Goverments alone. National legislation and international legal instruments will not be fully effective unless supported by strong community action to raise public consciousness of the fatal consequences of illicit drugs and drug abuse. All of us must resolve now to fight and eventually eliminate the drug threat, for at stake are the future of our children and the general well-being of mankind. The special session should galvanize action towards the achievement of that goal. It should help solidify our convergence of interests so as to further strengthen the foundation, expand the scope and increase the effectiveness of international co-operation against narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

Malaysia is fully committed to the fight against drug abuse. As a developing nation, Malaysia needs every ounce of the energy of its people and every bit of

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* Mr. Jaya (Brunei Darussalam), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

their intellect, productivity and creativity to build a strong, healthy and prosperous society. We cannot afford to see our youth and children succumb to drugs. Malaysia is doing its best, with some measure of success, to reduce the demand for and to stop the trafficking in illicit drugs and psychotropic substances.

We are fully aware of the dangerous interrelationships of drug abuse, illicit trafficking and crime. Therefore, we have consciously adopted tough measures. Our laws on drugs are purposefully severe. They are meant to be so. We believe that this is the correct way to deal with the problem. We do not apologize for our actions.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

We caution our citizens and foreigners alike on the danger posed by drugs. We make everyone aware that in Malaysia trafficking in illicit drugs and psychotropic substances is, in accordance with our law, a criminal offence punishable by death. The law also provides for assets derived from drug trafficking to be seized by the Government.

We also believe that law enforcement efforts alone are not sufficient. Priority has to be given to the reduction of demand through preventive efforts. Malaysia does not produce illicit drugs, but we have no control over the production of drugs and psychotropic substances elsewhere. Therefore, we formulate and implement strategies primarily designed to insulate our citizens from drug abuse through preventive education, information and publicity, community action and treatment and rehabilitation.

My Government realizes that tough action on our part alone is not sufficient to conduct the drug war. That war is an international drug war, which requires concerted international action covering all aspects of the problem. Regional efforts and bilateral arrangements among Governments should therefore be increased as a means of building the necessary network of international co-operation.

Malaysia believes that a higher degree of confidence should be placed in the United Nations as it carries out its various drug control activities. The United Nations system can do a lot more to contribute to enhancing the effectiveness of international co-operation. However, the United Nations must be given the appropriate mandate and resources. Appropriate structures need to be strengthened to ensure greater coherence and co-ordination within the system. However, it must also be clear that the activities of the various United Nations bodies, organs and specialized agencies should complement, not duplicate, one another.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

Malaysia has long believed that the drug epidemic is a very serious problem with potentially grave implications for international security. In that context, we favour the idea of entrusting the United Nations with certain added responsibilities to facilitate a more coherent international response. Some of these have already been identified in resolution 44/141 of the forty-fourth General Assembly session.

This special session is dealing with a complex set of problems. What is required now is the careful crystallization of the collective ideas of all participants into a realistic, viable and effective global programme of action. That programme should be developed with absolute clarity. It has to be credible and worthy of implementation. To be effective it should set out a time frame and a proper mechanism for implementation, monitoring and review.

I should like to recall that the Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline of Future Activities in Drug Abuse Control, adopted at the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in 1987, contains a fairly exhaustive repertory of recommendations setting forth practical measures which can be used by Governments and organizations in the fight against drug abuse and illicit trafficking. The elements of the Outline are as valid today as they were when the document was adopted. The Outline should serve as a strong basis for developing the global programme of action. At the same time, States should continue to put the guidelines in the Outline to practical use.

My delegation welcomes the recent summit meeting of the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the United States of America at Cartagena, Colombia. The summit was timely and its conclusions could provide further inspiration for the work of this special session.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

The 1988 United Nations Convention was a landmark achievement in the effort to forge international co-operation on the drugs question. It is a solid international legal instrument which will allow Governments to act accordingly against the international criminal activity of illicit drug trafficking. Malaysia is committed to the Convention. We were among the first to sign it. We are taking the necessary administrative and legislative steps to facilitate Malaysia's early ratification of the Convention. I can assure the Assembly that our efforts in this regard are being undertaken with the utmost sense of urgency. I join others in calling for a collective effort to ensure the early ratification of the Convention by States.

The situation is most alarming. The insatiable demand for drugs, particularly in the developed countries, has had horrendous effects and ramifications. Therefore, to break this vicious cycle the demand aspect of the problem must be addressed urgently. Action against supply or production of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances is just one part of the solution. Equally important is the adoption of effective action by all Governments, particularly those where demand is high, to reduce consumption and eliminate the demand for illicit drugs.

Certain countries have taken bold measures to tackle the supply problem. Regrettably, major consuming countries have not taken the action required to reduce and eliminate demand. They must take urgent measures to address the roots of drug abuse and consumption. Treatment and rehabilitation at best deal only with the periphery of the problem. Societal values must change. Preventive education must be a priority in any anti-drug campaign aimed at reducing drug consumption. The ministerial conference on demand reduction to be held in London this April should focus on all aspects of the problem of demand.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

Effective ways have to be found to reduce drastically the demand for narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. Their supply and production must also be controlled in a realistic manner. Both aspects require domestic action by Governments and sacrifices, particularly in the case of producer countries. The majority of these are developing countries. They need international assistance to engage in an effective effort to reduce and eradicate the cultivation of narcotic plants and curtail the distribution and supply of narcotic products. Their economic requirements must be met with sympathy. The developed countries and others which have the means to do so should contribute to assisting these countries keep their part of the international bargain.

This special session cannot afford to fail. At stake is the well-being and survival not only of individual countries but of mankind as a whole. I am confident that with that in mind we can all work to ensure that the special session will contribute effectively towards enhancing international co-operation to fight the war against drugs.

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The fact that the General Assembly is meeting to consider the question of drugs is in itself of historic importance. It is a healthy indication of the new and positive trends in the work of our Assembly and shows that the Assembly is keeping pace with world events. It is also an indication of United Nations readiness to guide and co-ordinate international action to tackle urgent and serious social problems. Regrettably, those problems have been added in the last few years to the list of those that burden both the developed and the developing world.

International co-operation to combat the production of, traffic in and consequences of drugs is a subject that merits careful study and follow-up, particularly since the problem of drugs is a world-wide negative phenomenon. It is a grave problem that deserves special priority, a malaise that afflicts all societies - their younger generations in particular - regardless of their level of economic progress, political system or social condition. It is a problem, as the President said in his opening statement, that can jeopardize international peace and security.

At the same time, as the Secretary-General rightly stated this morning, it is a problem that is organically linked to the problem of development. The production of drugs in some developing countries is a result of the economics of poverty. Therefore, as long as poverty, the burden of debt and economic pressures persist, the fight against drugs carried out in isolation and without due regard for other relevant considerations is not likely to be very effective. It is essential that there be a full realization of all aspects of the relationship of this problem to the problems of security and development.

Egypt was among the first States to realize the gravity of this problem. A special unit to combat drugs was established early in this century. Furthermore, the delegation of Egypt has had the privilege of participating actively in the

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

preparation of this session since it was first mooted during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Egypt has signed the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which was approved by the International Conference held in Vienna in 1988, and the constitutional procedure for ratification is already under way.

Even before the entry into force of that Convention, Egypt has amended its drug code to incorporate many of its provisions. Thus, Egypt promulgated Law 122 in 1989, among whose provisions are the following: first, the penalty for the crime of illicit trafficking in drugs has been increased to the maximum; secondly, there is no statute of limitations for drug cases or for sentences passed in such cases; thirdly, the law grants the competent authorities the right to expropriate land on which drugs are cultivated; fourthly, the law makes it a crime to aid, abet, entice or force any person to use cocaine or heroin; fifthly, if an addict submits voluntarily to treatment he or she is considered to be an ordinary patient; sixthly, the law entitles the addict's family to request mandatory medical treatment.

In view of the gravity of the drug problem, my country has developed a comprehensive strategy to deal with it. The National Council for Drug Control and the Treatment of Addiction was established in 1989 to co-ordinate the efforts of the various ministries and agencies involved in the fight against drugs. The Council formulates policies and proposes legislation to deal with the problem in all its dimensions. The Council held its most recent meeting this month under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister and with the participation of 11 Cabinet Ministers.

I would like to point out some of the main features of Egyptian action against the drug problem. First, offices of the District Attorney devoted exclusively to

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

drug cases are being set up. Such offices have already been established in Cairo and Alexandria and this project is currently being extended to other parts of the country.

Secondly, Egypt firmly believes in the need to pursue and arrest those accused of or indicted for drug crimes. It also supports their extradition to the State on whose territory they committed their crimes, even if there is no extradition treaty between Egypt and that State, unless the person accused is an Egyptian national, in which case he or she is brought to trial in Egypt. Thirdly, special clinics for the treatment and rehabilitation of addicts are being established.

Egypt's concern over the drug problem is not confined to the national level, but extends to the regional and international levels. On the regional level, Egypt has concluded agreements on co-operation in combating drugs with Iraq, Jordan, Pakistan, Turkey and Yemen. Egypt has also concluded an agreement on juridical co-operation with the States members of the Arab Co-operation Council. A regional conference on addiction held in Cairo in November 1989 considered the various aspects of the problem and ways of combating it. At the same time, Egypt makes its expertise available to States requesting it. It holds training courses to improve the performance of workers in the field of drug control in many sister and friendly countries. Egyptian experts in the field are also sent to train workers in some of those countries.

On the international level, Egypt has participated since 1988 in the work of the sub-committee against drugs in the Middle East. Egypt is also closely connected with United Nations activities in the field.

I should like to refer now to a number of basic principles and thoughts which I believe are important for the achievement of the special session's desired objectives.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

First, it is necessary to reaffirm every State's right to respect for its sovereignty.

Secondly, the importance of genuine, constructive international co-operation, particularly at the regional level, cannot be overemphasized. The drug menace knows no boundaries; therefore the role of regional organizations in the area of drugs and bilateral co-operation between neighbouring States assume special importance.

Thirdly, by its very nature the problem we are facing is a complex one in which huge interests and monopolies are involved. Therefore the most up-to-date means of restraint must be used, border patrols must be strengthened, and smuggling by sea or air must be closely monitored, using modern technology and all other means available to confront the cartels.

Fourthly, with regard to our work at this session and the results to which it must lead, I reaffirm that we lack neither the political will nor the legal instruments to deal with this grave threat. We must be resolved in our fight against illicit drug production, trafficking and abuse.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

There are many United Nations bodies dealing with the question of drugs, and there is no need to create more bureaucratic structures. There is also a plethora of international conventions. We must accelerate the process of ratification of the most recent one, namely, the United Nations Convention against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs, so that it can enter into force.

Fifthly, with regard to the documents and resolutions which should emanate from our work, the deliberations of the Preparatory Committee at its two sessions have produced a draft political declaration and a draft global plan of action. They both deserve our support. Yet we call upon the experts working actively in the Committee of the Whole to make their documents constructively brief. It would be better for the global plan of action to include a concise, realistic and practical programme that lends itself to full implementation rather than ending up with an elaborate, unrealistic programme. Such a programme would only lead us to return to it later to consider the reasons for its non-implementation.

Sixthly, the economic and social dimensions of the problem link it to the process of development as a whole. The waste in human and financial resources owing to drug abuse and the drug problem overall constitutes an additional burden on the already limited, meagre resources available to the developing countries. The decline in commodity prices and the production of substitute crops pose an additional challenge that is directly connected to the question of development, in particular that of the developing countries. The negative consequences arising from this problem casts a shadow at national, regional and international levels and creates tensions affecting regional and even international relations. That is a matter falling under the paramount responsibility of the United Nations: the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

States bear the primary responsibility for the swift adoption of firm policies at the national and regional levels to deal with the problems of production and consumption. We are fully aware of the violence perpetrated by the cartels involved in the production and distribution of drugs, but, with the necessary will, firm administration of justice and constructive regional and international co-operation, we are confident that progress can be made towards dealing effectively with this grave problem and its total eradication.

Mr. LINDQVIST (Sweden): This special session of the General Assembly is a historic occasion for us to manifest our common determination to join forces against the growing menace from illicit narcotic drugs.

It is not only a clear expression of the solidarity of the world community in the face of the drug lords' ruthless exploitation of human misery; it is also the starting-point for joint offensive action against the drug problems in all their aspects.

The narcotics problems have never been as serious as they are today. Addiction to and demand for narcotics is spreading rapidly both in developed and developing countries. Drug trafficking has become more widespread and better organized. The production of illicit drugs is growing. Drugs are not only a threat to the health and welfare of individual human beings, but also a major threat to societies themselves. There is a clear link between drug abuse and severe social problems in our societies.

Drug addicts are also one of the prime risk groups in the spread of the HIV virus around the world.

Last October the Secretary-General estimated that the monetary value of drug trafficking - $300 billion annually - had surpassed that of international trade in oil and was second only to the arms trade. A number of recent reports have also

(Mr. Lindqvist, Sweden)

indicated that drug abuse is spreading to new areas and new countries, not least in the developing world.

In Colombia the Government is conducting a remarkable campaign against the deadly threat to society posed by the drug syndicates. Developments in the Andean region, as well as in other affected countries, indicate that the Governments are fighting an uphill battle against the illicit drug interests.

It is true that the main emphasis in the fight against narcotics has to be at the national level. Nevertheless, it is an impossible task for each country individually to develop the comprehensive programmes required to stop the production, trafficking and abuse of illicit drugs. Attempts to solve the problems in isolation can lead to frustration and resignation. In a growing number of countries there is even discussion of legalization of narcotics. The Swedish Government strongly repudiates such suggestions. An increase in drug abuse problems can only be met by more forceful and more imaginative efforts against narcotics.

One important part of Swedish drug policy is to participate actively in international co-operation. Our close co-operation with our Nordic neighbours will now be further intensified. At a ministerial meeting in Stockholm a month ago, an eight-point programme for intensified co-operation was adopted.

But beyond the regional approach, the alarming drug situation in the world requires comprehensive and far-reaching measures within the wider framework of the United Nations. The struggle againt this global problem must be considered a collective responsibility by all States. Only in effective international co-operation will individual countries be able to combat this scourage with maximum effect. This special session is a manifestation of the confidence that the world community places in the central role the United Nations must play in this field.

(Mr. Lindqvist, Sweden)

The Prime Minister of Sweden proposed last autumn that the United Nations should adopt a global programme of action against illicit narcotic drugs - a programme under which the United Nations should be the focus for a major mobilization of efforts and resources to counter the growing threat. This proposal was subsequently followed up in the General Assembly. It is our task at this special session to take the decisions necessary for realization of the various points in the global programme of action. In this context, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Chairman and other officers of the Preparatory Committee for their outstanding work.

I shall now comment on some of the points in the global programme.

First, I would like to emphasize the urgent need for intensified action towards the reduction of demand. This, clearly, is an area to which insufficient attention has been paid up to now. We hope that the World Ministerial Summit in London in April this year will be an important breakthrough.

A second, crucial point concerns increased United Nations assistance to States to facilitate their ratification and effective implementation of the 1988 Convention.

Thirdly, I should like to commend warmly the proposal put forward by the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control regarding joint drug-control action by States in the subregional context. This type of programme should be given high priority within the global programme of action as an efficient way of dealing, in a group of countries in the regions most affected, with the many interrelated effects of the drug problem.

Fourthly, I want to underline the necessity of a more active role for all the United Nations specialized agencies concerned. The drug problem must be accorded higher priority in their agendas.

(Mr. Lindqvist, Sweden)

A fifth point, which I consider central to the success of our programme, concerns the full involvement of the international, regional and national financial institutions in dealing with the economic and social consequences of the drug problem, including the severe distortions caused by production of and trafficking in illicit drugs.

The last programme point that I want to single out and welcome is the decision of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session to arrange for an expert review of the United Nations structure for drug abuse control. Obviously, it would be very difficult to carry out our global action programme within the existing organizational framework for United Nations operations. In our opinion, there are strong reasons for reorganization in order to achieve better-integrated functioning of the Organization's structure in this field.

It is also obvious that the United Nations system will not be in a position to fulfil the enhanced functions that are necessary with the limited resources at its disposal. A concerted effort, involving more countries and more substantial contributions, is indispensable. The present situation, in which 90 per cent of voluntary funding is provided by five countries, is clearly unsatisfactory. My Government, for its part, has proposed to Parliament an increase in our voluntary contributions. $5 million will be appropriated for the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, and a further $3 million for the Fund and other appropriate organs will be earmarked, as a first step, for the implementation of the global programme of action.

In the opening sentence of a recent annual report to the General Assembly the Secretary-General stated:

"the sails of the small boat in which all the people of the Earth were gathered seemed to have caught a light but favourable wind." (A/43/1, p. 2)

(Mr. Lindqvist, Sweden)

That wind has since picked up speed. New and more hopeful horizons have opened up in international relations. But at the same time we are facing a new generation of multifaceted problems, emerging on a global scale, that challenge our international solidarity. It is, then, to the United Nations that we must turn in our quest for solutions. We created this world Organization to be a centre for action for the attainment of common ends, a unique forum to meet common challenges. In its complexity, the drug problem is such a challenge, and the world has the right to expect the United Nations to take a leading role in forming a common front.

We all agree here on the magnitude of the threat we are facing from narcotic drugs; we all agree on the urgent need for decisive international action. This special session of the General Assembly is the opportunity for us to translate our resolve into deeds and to join forces, within the United Nations to save mankind from this deadly menace.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): The drug phenomenon in modern times, by its very nature, does not remain confined to the boundaries of individual States but tends to become transnational. Until recently the emphasis had been on suppressing illicit traffic and reducing supplies of narcotics. But this did not fully address the problem of continuing and rising demand, which, in turn, generated corresponding illicit supplies; hence the need for an integrated approach to the problem in all its aspects. Demand and supply of illicit drugs must receive equal attention at the national, regional and international levels.

Yet another aspect relates to the problems of transit countries. A growing number of countries, particularly developing countries, because of their geographic location are affected by illicit transit trafficking in drugs. The effort to combat such traffic imposes serious burdens on the drug law enforcement machinery of these countries and forces diversion of their scarce resources from pressing development needs.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

There is therefore a clear and pressing need for international co-operation to assist and support transit countries, in particular developing countries, at their request by implementing appropriate programmes of technical and financial assistance through competent regional and international organizations.

Another problem relates to the excess stocks of opiate raw material for medical needs held by traditional supplier countries such as India. India has been maintaining a very strict system of control over poppy cultivation as a result of which leakage from the licit cultivation is minimal. In response to an appeal from the international community to meet a world-wide shortage of opiates for medical purposes in the 1970s, we increased the area under legal poppy cultivation to meet the shortage. However, as a result, among other things, of the expansion of the production capacities of some non-traditional producers and their entering the export market, India's export of opium declined sharply. This resulted in the accumulation of opium stocks in the country. Consequently India, as a traditional supplier of opiate raw materials for medical needs, now holds over 2,000 tonnes of accumulated stocks. This imposes heavy financial and other burdens on the country.

We tried to counter the problem by progressively reducing the area under licensed poppy cultivation from 66,000 hectares in 1977-1978 to around 15,000 hectares in 1989-1990. This drastic reduction inflicted severe hardship on thousands of traditional licensed cultivators, their families and a large agricultural labour force. Further reduction can only affect their livelihood, with tragic consequences.

All this only underlines the urgent need for international co-operation and assistance to overcome the problem of excess stocks of opiate raw materials in traditional supplier countries as also enjoined by successive resolutions of the Economic and Social Council and some special studies made by the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB). This may include assistance for meeting the

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

potential need for opiates particularly of the developing countries, taking into account the recommendations of the INCB in its latest special report on the demand for and supply of opiates for medical and scientific needs.

India, sandwiched between two major sources of supply of illicit drugs - the region west of us and the so-called Golden Triangle to the east of us - is facing a serious problem of the transit traffic of drugs. The bulk of heroin seized in India comes from areas west of us and is meant for export to Western destinations in Europe and North America. The spill-over from the transit traffic through our country is bringing with it the ravages of drug abuse in the country, which is causing us considerable concern.

Intensified countermeasures taken by the Indian Government, particularly to address the problem of transit traffic, has resulted in a decline in the quantity of drugs seized in India during 1989, after the earlier rising trend. This indicates a measure of success in our enforcement effort, which is further corroborated by a recent assessment, published by Interpol in November 1989. The Interpol assessment states, among other things, that with the law enforcement measures better streamlined in India, trafficking routes for heroin originating in countries west of India now move not eastwards, towards India, but in a westerly direction. The Interpol study adds that almost 70 per cent of such heroin seized in Europe during 1988 came along the Balkan route, and that the same trend continued during 1989. This development brings into focus the need to take equally stringent measures in countries affected by illicit drug production and drug abuse since the traffickers change routes if they are under enforcement pressure in a particular area or on a particular route.

Permit me to refer to some of the significant measures we have recently taken in India to counter this menace. These measures include the following: legal provisions made for, among other things, deterrent punishment for trafficking

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

offences, including the death penalty for a second offence in certain cases; tightening up of bail provisions; bringing in certain controlled substances used in the manufacture of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances under the régime of control and penalties; pretrial destruction of drugs; prohibition of any suspension, remission or commutation of sentences; tracing, freezing and forfeiture of the assets of drug traffickers; the constitution of a national fund for drug abuse control; preventive detention of drug traffickers for a period of one year, which could extend to two years in certain cases; special provisions for checking the illegal export of acetic anhydride; setting up a narcotics control bureau as the apex co-ordinating and enforcement agency and intensification of drug law enforcement; destruction of any wild growth or illicit cultivation of cannabis; strengthening of enforcement agencies and of vigilance at entry and exit points. No significant illicit cultivation of the opium poppy has been detected in India.

To tackle the problem of drug abuse, a multidisciplinary approach has been adopted in India. Large-scale programmes are also under implementation in the fields of counselling, education, treatment, rehabilitation and so on. For this purpose voluntary agenciecs and non-governmental organizations are also encouraged to launch and execute such programmes, and are assisted in that regard.

In the field of co-operation at the bilateral, regional and international levels, India has played an active and constructive role. We have regular bilateral meetings with our neighbours on drug-related matters and the control of drug abuse. This receives high priority in the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation. Similarly we have extensive bilateral co-operation with many countries to control the scourge of illicit drugs. Drug liaison officers of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada are based in India and work in close co-ordination with our Narcotics Control Bureau.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

India is a member of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and we participate in ongoing multilateral activities to check illicit drug trafficking. India has ratified the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961, the amending Protocol of 1972, and the Convention on Psychotropic Substances of 1971. We will shortly be ratifying the 1988 Convention against Illicit Trafficking. Most of the substantive provisions of this 1988 Convention have already been implemented in our country through appropriate legal provisions that came into force in 1989.

There is an urgent need to strengthen United Nations drug control units, particularly the Division of Narcotic Drugs, the secretariat of the INCB and the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control. Strengthening should be in terms of manpower and financial resources to enable them to undertake and effectively execute the additional tasks mandated to them and those which will devolve upon them under the global programme of action this session will adopt. In this connection I should like to place on record the appreciation of the Government of India for the assistance being given to India by the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control under a five-year programme of assistance on various aspects of the drug problem, including the strengthening of enforcement infrastructures, demand reduction programmes, and so on.

We offer our full co-operation in the international community's fight against illicit trafficking and drug abuse.

Mr. ITURRALDE BALLIVIAN (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to congratulate Ambassador Garba on his assumption of the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly. His experience and skill are guarantees of the success of our deliberations.

The magnitude and increasing gravity of the phenomenon of drug trafficking in its various forms and phases require urgent initiatives to enable the international community to strengthen its action and effectiveness to combat this formidable evil, whose repercussions seriously affect not only the health of mankind but the economic, social and political order of the world today. No country is free from this threat, and we are therefore all committed to the struggle against the production, trafficking and consumption of illicit drugs, which are playing havoc chiefly among today's young people.

Accordingly, in a most appropriate and timely fashion, the General Assembly decided at its forty-fourth regular session to convene a special session in order to consider as a matter of urgency international co-operation against the illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotics.

Bolivia, as members are aware, is one of the countries vitally affected by the production of coca leaves, which has a marked impact upon its economy. My country's continuous efforts to combat drug trafficking have gained us a wealth of experience, which we should like to share with members. It has taught us that the phenomenon of drug trafficking is marked by phases which are clearly distinct and for which corresponding solutions that take account of those differences must be sought. For countries where the raw material is produced, the emphasis should be on alternative development. In areas where the marketing takes place, special importance undoubtedly attaches to interdiction. But neither of the aforementioned actions will be effective unless vigorous measures are taken simultaneously to reduce consumption and demand.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

These are correlated factors in one overall process: interdiction, alternative development and consumption cannot be addressed separately, for success or failure in one area will automatically imply advances or reversals in the other areas. Moreover, it must be stressed that no solutions will be found without resources, without investments, or against a background of countries beset by critical poverty and underdevelopment. I wish to emphasize also that, in our judgement, such solutions must stem from a global view of the problem and from economic rationality. Those ideas lie at the root of the proposal for alternative development, which, beyond mere crop substitution, involves maintaining and enhancing the jobs and incomes today generated by the coca economy. In other words, where an illegal economy maintained by illicit drug trafficking exists, we must replace it by a legitimate economy.

I should like to recall that it was President Jaime Paz Zamora of Bolivia who, in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in September 1989, proposed to the world that the principle of economic rationality be applied, especially to the countries that produce the raw material. That proposal arose from the meagre prospects seen for the approaches that had until then been followed in the fight against illicit drugs. Those approaches were geared primarily to interdiction, which, as I have said, fails to achieve its aim in so far as it is divorced from a macro-economic view of the coca circuit. Accordingly, I should like to refer briefly to the bases of the Bolivian proposal on alternative development.

The drug trafficking economy, because of the large profits it generates, is not only a moral or legal problem but also a phenomenon with major economic implications. Within the international circuit of the coca economy the producer countries typically have high poverty indices, while the consumer countries have high income levels. It is estimated that the amount generated by the coca-cocaine economy is appropriated by the consumer countries to the extent of 80 per cent, by

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

the marketing countries to the extent of approximately 15 per cent, and by the producer nations to the extent only of 2 to 4 per cent.

Some indicators taken from the case of Bolivia may serve to place the problem in its proper perspective. It has been estimated that the coca economy in its various phases is thought to have generated more than $1.4 billion in 1987, that is, approximately 24 per cent of Bolivia's gross domestic product, of which only about $500 million are thought to have remained within the country.

During the last 25 years coca production has skyrocketed. From 1963 to 1987 production increased 31.5 times and land area under cultivation increased 20.3 times. At the beginning of the 1970s virtually 100 per cent of production was intended for traditional use, but that situation changed dramatically as a result of increased demand by consumer countries. Today, only 16 per cent is earmarked for traditional use, and the remaining 84 per cent is used to produce coca derivatives. Moreover, it is estimated that this process involves about 61,000 peasant families, or approximately 300,000 persons - about 5 per cent of the population - a figure that increases substantially if account is taken of the people involved in activities indirectly generated by the production of coca.

These details give some idea of the effort that will be required to replace the coca economy in terms of income, employment and foreign exchange, particularly with regard to amounts of investment, to counteract the effects of replacing that economy. In short, if we seek a lasting, in-depth solution to drug trafficking, we should understand that the magnitude of the answer must be commensurate with the dimensions of the problem.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

So long as we zero in on the causes and not on the effects alone, we shall be on the right track. In August of 1985 Bolivia was experiencing hyperinflation in excess of 23,000 per cent. It became possible to halt that trend only when, instead of penalizing speculative activities resulting from interference with free market forces, a programme of adjustment was adopted in which the economically rational course was not to speculate but to produce. The example is a valid one, and that is the focus of alternative development, the aim of which is to attack drug trafficking at its roots.

That approach, which was comprehensively presented by Bolivia, was adopted at the Cartagena summit meeting on 15 February in the declaration signed by the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the United States, and a plan of action on the following basis was adopted.

To replace the coca economy in Bolivia and Peru and the trafficking in illicit drugs everywhere, programmes of co-operation will be implemented encompassing various areas.

It was agreed that in the short term emergency social programmes will be established and strengthened and the balance of payments will be supported to curb the social and economic effects of substitution. Investment programmes were agreed on which, in the medium and long term, will ensure economic conditions conducive to the definitive replacement of the coca economy. Similarly, programmes will be developed with a view to preserving the ecological balance. The agreement also encompasses development of the productive infrastructure and stimulation of non-traditional exports from Bolivia, Colombia and Peru, which countries have great hopes that these and all the policies adopted at the summit meeting will be implemented.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

Cartagena reaffirmed a commitment to a comprehensive fight against drug trafficking, with effective measures to punish the marketing, production, transport and consumption of illicit drugs.

Agreements were also reached on control of essential chemical substances and of the financial aspects of this illegal trade, and on the seizure and allocation of illegal profits. We should also emphasize the co-ordination that will be ensured by the police and military bodies of the parties, in conformity with the legal order and sovereign decisions of each country.

The historic Cartegena summit meeting also adopted a comprehensive strategy to ensure full awareness of the destructive effects of drug trafficking and narcotics abuse. One of the points emphasized in the Cartagena declaration is an appeal to the special session to take into account the co-operation measures included in the declaration with a view to strengthening the multilateral response in the struggle against illicit drugs. The group of four countries that convened at Cartagena on 15 February also agreed to convene a world conference in 1991 to define and strengthen the co-operation of the international community at this vital crossroads for the fate of mankind.

An all-important step was taken at Cartagena by the adoption of a joint strategy against drug trafficking. It is now necessary to begin a new stage, that of action. We have a clear diagnosis that has enabled us to identify the various aspects of the solution, but that means that we have only gone halfway. The possibility of reaching the goal depends on the effective response of countries and organizations as their contribution to the international community, which they must protect and which is a decisive element in efforts to achieve the goal we all seek: a healthy youth and a world free of illicit drugs.

(Mr. Iturralde Bollivian, Bolivia)

I feel justified in saying that Bolivia has been breaking interesting ground in contributing, if only modestly, to solving various problems in the field of economic and social stability and social harmony. The proposal on alternative development is part of these efforts in our search for elements of innovation and change. Today, in an initiative born of our deepest convictions, we have decreed a five-year environmental moratorium during which the Bolivian Government will grant no permits for exploitation of forest resources. Despite the severe restraints we face, we are depriving ourselves of a source of foreign exchange earnings, but we wish to devote this time and this sacrifice to carrying out a study that will lay the foundations for rational exploitation of that resource; we will share the results with the entire international community, as we invariably have shared our experiences. Thus, any action aimed at eradicating illicit cultivation which would destroy our flora or fauna, or endanger the health of the people or the ecological balance would be unacceptable to Bolivia, since our national legal system expressly protects these.

My country hopes that its ideas and aspirations, in so far as they are of universal interest, will be embodied in the instruments that emerge from this special session. We hope in particular that there will emerge a clear commitment by the international community to devote its best efforts to the fight in which we are engaged. We also hope that at the end of our deliberations the United Nations will be given the machinery and means necessary to fulfil the mandate we entrust to it in the fight against drug trafficking.

I wish to express my Government's thanks for the effective co-operation we are receiving from several countries represented here and directly through the United Nations, especially the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

I am certain that representatives will give thought to Bolivia's experience, which I venture to present here as a contribution to the work of the special session. We must agree that success in the struggle against the grave problem of illicit drugs is closely linked to the stability of democratic systems, the full enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms and the major objectives of social peace and coexistence in solidarity, which are the ideals that permanently guide this supreme world body.

Mrs. CHAN (Singapore): A spectre is haunting the world, the spectre of narcotic drugs. Two victims of the recent Avianca aircraft crash in New York were found to have sealed up quantities of cocaine inside condoms and to have swallowed them to conceal the drug from Customs inspectors. Can any country ever hope to win a war against drugs when the demand drives people to such degrading and inventive lengths?

The illicit production and use of and trafficking in drugs respect no political, economic or social boundaries. Narcotic drugs are a scourge that attacks the social fabric of both developed and developing countries. The adverse effects of that scourge are far reaching and hit at every aspect of society.*

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*Mr. Lohia (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

It can enslave the young, sapping them of their energy, their sense of responsibility, their ambition, and finally their life; it can entrap officials who may use or traffic in it; it can intimidate political institutions into silent acquiescence because of the powerful forces behind it; and it can spawn a sophisticated and complex network of organized crime. Drug syndicates are now taking up arms to retaliate against law-enforcement efforts in some countries. It is no wonder then that the drug problem in many countries takes on the perspective of a national security problem.

All reasonable estimates are that the global drug abuse situation will, in all likelihood, worsen. More opium was produced last year and the Golden Triangle's annual production of opium is expected to double. The abuse of cocaine has reached epidemic proportions in some countries. Cocaine syndicates are now looking for new markets in Europe, Australia, South-East Asia and East Asia. Cannabis cultivation is also increasing. Most countries have reported record hauls of drugs in recent years. A new wave or a new generation of drugs has made the scene. There is now crack, crank and ice, each deadlier than the other and associated with much violence.

The seventeenth special session of the General Assembly, to consider the question of international co-operation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs, is being held at a time of heightened concern with the grave deterioration in the international drug production, drug abuse and drug trafficking situation and the attendant escalating violence.

In recent years the member States of the international community, each spurred by the worsening domestic drug-related social and law-and-order problems, have come

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to understand that illicit drugs are a global problem which requires a co-ordinated international response.

Fresh impetus to the fight against drugs was added in 1987 with the convening of the first United National International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, which drew up the Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline on Future Activities in Drug Abuse. In 1988 another United Nations Conference in Vienna adopted the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, providing a valuable new tool to fight illicit drug trafficking.

But it was the epic and valiant struggle put up by Colombia against the powerful drug cartels that grabbed the imagination of the world, and forcibly drew the attention of world leaders to focus on the urgency of the international aspects of the illicit narcotic drugs problem. Many of us in this Hall remember well the passionate and inspiring call of President Barco, before the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, for concerted international action to fight an insidious enemy.

Thus, the world watched the first regional summit at Cartagena on 15 February 1990 with keen interest, as the Presidents of Peru, Colombia, Bolivia and the United States met to discuss co-operation and a strategy to fight illicit narcotic drugs. The meeting marked an important step forward in recognizing that the global drug problem requires attention at the highest political level and provided a useful framework for regional co-operation on the question of combating the demand, supply and production of drugs and illicit drug trafficking.

The Cartagena statement reiterates the broad outlines of action which are generally identified by the international community to be the elements in a

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

comprehensive approach to deal with the problem of illicit narcotic drugs. It advocates that

> "a strategy which commits the parties to implement or strengthen a comprehensive, intensified anti-narcotics programme must address the issues of demand reduction, consumption and supply. Such a strategy also must include understandings regarding economic co-operation, alternative development, encouragement of trade and investment, as well as understandings regarding economic co-operation, ... on attacking the traffic in illicit drugs, and on diplomatic and public diplomacy initiatives ...".

The statement further emphasizes that "these areas are interconnected and self-reinforcing". (A/S-17/8, annex, p. 2)

There is no doubt that tackling the problem of illicit narcotic drugs is seen by many to be a chicken-and-egg problem. There could be endless arguments on whether it is demand or supply which should be turned off first. In thinking over this problem, I am reminded of a philosophy professor who sought to teach his class how to think through a problem. He asked, "Where does a circle begin?". There was a long pause. Then one bright young woman said, "In the centre". The centre in the vicious drug circle is consumption or demand. If there were not the insatiable demand for drugs, suppliers would not so eagerly strive to excel themselves, to circumvent by the most inventive means the stringent anti-trafficking controls to market their products.

It is important for any global programme of action to have an integrated approach to both aspects of the problems - the suppression of illicit supply and traffic, and the measures aimed at demand reduction, treatment and rehabilitation. However, the discussions on reducing illicit supply through law enforcement and

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

other measures have been going on for some time. It is crucial now to give priority to the question of reducing demand.

In this connection, it is disturbing to hear voices in some countries arguing for the legalization of cocaine or crack to deal with the problem of crime and violence associated with illicit drug trafficking. It simply does not make sense. The legalization of cocaine and crack runs the unacceptable risk of a huge increase in addiction.

Today there are experiments in some European countries for controlled legalization. Areas are designated where narcotic drugs are sold openly and legally. The problem then becomes concentrated and localized in one area, but there does not seem to be a lowering of the demand or the drug-related crime and violence.

Sceptics who still argue for the legalization of cocaine and crack should take heed of the caution voiced by Mr. James Q. Wilson, the Chairman of the United States National Advisory Council for Drug Abuse Prevention in 1972 and Professor of Management and Public Policy at the University of California, Los Angeles, in an article entitled "Against the Legalization of Drugs", published in Commentary in February 1990. According to Mr. Wilson,

> "The only way to settle the question about ... the easy availability of drug use is to try it and see. But that is so risky as to be no experiment at all, for if cocaine is legalized, and if the rate of its abusive use increases dramatically, there is no way to put the genie back into the bottle - and it is not a kindly genie."

The legalization of illicit drugs in one country will not help countries elsewhere that need to deal with the problem of reducing demand. In fact, it would

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enhance the commercialization of the drug trade and embolden drug cartels and inevitably lead to greater global supply of drugs.

As for the question of the control of drug production, it is well known that narcotic plants are usually cultivated by developing countries saddled with debt-servicing, and in poverty-stricken areas of these countries. The economic situation of these areas should be improved to wean the farmers from their present cultivation of the coca leaf or poppy flower for opium production. It follows that market access must be given by the developed countries to the crop-substitution programme that is introduced, and commodity agreements should be upheld to allow for the expansion of exports of legitimate crops.

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

Singapore is particularly vigilant in its fight against drug abuse and drug trafficking as we are close to the Golden Triangle. Our physical size as a small island city-State makes us particularly vulnerable to supply and demand in the region, which closely responds to the global drug situation. Our strategic location at the crossroads of communications in South-East Asia also means that drug traffickers are likely to use Singapore as a transit point. It is in this context that Singapore has a set of tough legislative and enforcement measures to curb drug abuse and drug trafficking.

Singapore became independent at a time of a spreading drug culture in the West. The 1960s was the decade of the hippie movement and experiments with marijuana and LSD. We decided to deal with the problem decisively right from the start. Our problem then was opium addicts. Using legal and social measures we reduced the numbers effectively, eventually eradicating the problem.

However, by the 1970s heroin addiction had become the new menace. Singapore has designed a comprehensive two-pronged approach to deal with the drug problem and to address the problem of supply of drugs and demand for them. On the one hand we have equipped ourselves with a set of tough legislative and enforcement measures, including heavy deterrent penalties, capital punishment and preventive detention, to deal with drug abuse and drug trafficking. On the other hand we have designed a long-term treatment, education and rehabilitation programme for the drug addict.

We also have an ongoing public education programme both in our schools and in the community to warn our population, especially the young, of the evils of drug abuse. Volunteers from grass-roots organizations and business organizations contribute actively to all our anti-drug campaigns and other activities. Voluntary organizations such as the Singapore Anti-Narcotic Association also provide counselling and after-care to drug abusers who are released.

(Mrs. Chen, Singapore)

After more than a decade of intensive effort against drug abuse we have managed to bring the drug problem in Singapore under control. The heroin-addict population has been drastically reduced.

Recently we have further tightened the control on drug abuse in the light of the deteriorating global drug situation. The death penalty which applied to trafficking in and manufacturing of heroine and morphine is now also applicable to trafficking in and manufacturing of opium, cannabis and cocaine.

Finally, as a part of our commitment to and support for the global war against drugs, Singapore actively co-operates with the security and police forces of other countries. The Central Narcotics Bureau of Singapore works closely with national drug enforcement agencies in countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and other countries and with regional and international agencies such as INTERPOL, the United Nations and the Colombo Plan Bureau on Drugs.

Each country and each society will have its own strategy for dealing with this major scourge of our time, which haunts us and which is threatening to destroy our very civilization. The special session should recharge all countries with greater determination and political will to tackle this scourge. We owe it to our present and future generations. In forums such as this lies their hope for a better world.

Mr. LESTELLE (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first of all to congratulate Mr. Garba on his assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session. We are convinced that, thanks to his experience and diplomatic skills, the Assembly will achieve very good results. My congratulations go also to the other Assembly officers. My delegation wishes also to congratulate the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Ambassador Peter Hohenfellner, and the other officers on their excellent work, which will greatly facilitate the task of the Assembly.

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

The Argentine Republic has embarked on a difficult struggle against the scourge of drugs. To make that struggle feasible - in other words, so that it will not remain in the realm of grandiloquent speeches - my country has set clear and attainable objectives encompassing the broad framework in which the problem needs to be analysed and tackled: the prevention of drug addiction, the recovery and social rehabilitation of addicts, and the specific battle against the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

My country knows, and the world knows, that this cannot be a unilateral or individual struggle. The entire world shares the responsibility because the entire world is involved in the problem. To a greater or lesser extent, in one way or another, each and every one of our countries is involved in or affected by the production of or traffic in narcotic drugs, or by their consumption. No country can genuinely claim that this is not its problem. Therefore, no nation in the world is free of responsibility.

The entire international community shares in this tragedy and suffers its consequences in various ways. It must therefore share in the responsibility for a struggle that is coherent, simultaneous and, obviously, international.

If we are not realistic in our view of the problem or do not keep our analysis of it on track, the only result will be that well-intentioned norms established in innumerable bilateral and multilateral agreements, and in the international Convention of December 1988, will be dead letters. In that event, the efforts made to set guidelines will have been in vain.

My Government has given ample evidence of its realism. As an example, I can mention our solidarity with our Colombian brothers and sisters in their fight against the merchants of death, manifested in our gift of three aircraft, presented in person by our Vice-President, Eduardo Duhalde, on the express instructions of the President of Argentina, Carlos Saul Menem.

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

Being realistic also means considering the economic, social and political circumstances of the various regions. In order to assume their full share of the responsibility, all countries must once and for all get beyond the kind of discussion that paralyses action: discussion on laying blame. Countries with high consumption of drugs blame the producer countries and vice versa; both of them blame the transit countries, forgetting that the problem is of concern to all, that everyone needs to tackle it, that all of us are responsible for a co-ordinated, coherent struggle. Laying blame on others paralyses because it distracts. It makes us lose sight of the real objective and is an obstacle to joint endeavours.

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

We may perhaps have seen the beginning of the end of such an attitude in the meeting that was held in Cartagena between Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the United States. We want once again to appeal to the remaining countries involved also to refrain from assigning blame.

Every country is responsible for its own situation. It has responsibilities within its own borders just as it has responsibilities within the international community. In this respect, the Argentine Republic supports the international instruments developed towards the common objective, and we associate ourselves with those nations that understand that an effective struggle against drug trafficking means giving equal importance to illicit production and marketing, as well as the aspects related to consumption, including those nations involved in the war against the scourge confronting us all, whether they be producers or consumers, marketers or so-called transit countries, not to mention those that develop chemical precursors, which also share responsibility in the matter, or the producers of psychotropic substances, which incite consumption and have the effect of inducing drug dependency.

Consistent with its position, the Argentine Republic is making special efforts in that struggle, as a member of international organizations and within the framework of commitments undertaken in treaties on the subject. Our country, in legislation enacted on 10 October 1989, has incorporated into its legal order provisions based on international guidelines reflecting the current situation, the urgency of the problem and the new ways in which narco-trafficking is developing its nefarious enterprise.

Thus our new law 23737 requires the implementation of prevention programmes, which have today become a reality in our country through campaigns designed to re-awaken social awareness and provide knowledge as to the causes and consequences of addiction, and it is important to revitalize such precious values as the family,

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

health, solidarity and the work ethic, faced with a consumer society. The public sector is promoting co-ordinated and planned preventive measures geared towards different sectors of the community. The intention is to provide information and educate the public with regard to health. In this connection, the executive branch of the Government is promoting the implementation, at the provincial level, of study plans and prevention and teacher-training programmes, in an effort to organize the entire community as an impenetrable wall in the struggle against drug consumption and its harmful effects. The new Argentine legislation has not ignored the tragedy of the drug addict. It has thus promoted the establishment of treatment and rehabilitation centres that can provide speedy assistance.

On the basis of international guidelines, and with the authority it has gained through its own efforts and accomplishments, the Argentine Republic urges all nations to redouble their efforts to co-ordinate and agree on common policies for prevention, sharing experiences, promoting suitable centres for the treatment of drug addicts, and assuming at all times their shared responsibility, thus strengthening international economic co-operation, without which good plans or the best of laws will only become dead letters.

It is imperative that the demand for drugs be reduced and health-care services broadened; that professionals be trained; that prevention centres can become forerunners in any assistance plan, so that our young people will not be frustrated from lack of information or resources. Together with shared responsibility, the principle of international solidarity - which must result in sufficient and appropriate economic and technical aid and without which the common struggle cannot be won - must come into play.

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

In each and every country, it is also necessary to meet the needs of those sectors of the population most at risk: young people, children, and prison populations.

It must not be forgotten that there is another deadly drug-related problem today: the AIDS-addiction combination. It is therefore essential to appeal to all countries and international organizations to implement co-ordinated action with regard to educational and assistance policies and recovery and social rehabilitation of addicts. If exchange of assistance and information is constant and flexible, if there is solid international economic co-operation, countries will not be powerless against the problem. Unequal development of nations cannot and must not dilute the possibility of our successfully coping with the approaching twenty-first century. The entire world must look to the future, for in a world in constant flux, not looking ahead means looking back, thus running the risk of its turning into a pillar of salt, like Lot's wife in the biblical story. In the framework of prevention, treatment and the rehabilitation of drug addicts, and also in the specific struggle against drug trafficking, the Argentine Republic has incorporated in its legal order guidelines that have been incorporated into international treaties, especially those against illicit trade, such as drug traffic. For example, I have mentioned law 23737, which orders the confiscation and seizure of any and all property and profit related to the crime. It also empowers law enforcement agencies to order the lifting of the veil of secrecy with regard to banking and taxation when investigating crimes related to the illicit traffic in drugs and psychotropic substances. It also introduces into the Penal Code norms aimed at suppressing any operations involving money laundering.

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

The international community must become increasingly knowledgeable in respect to such operations and take consistent action. It must not be forgotten that the criminal activity of drug traffickers destabilizes the economy, security and sovereignty of States. In a sincere and full assumption of shared responsibility, nations cannot overlook the fight against the economic benefits derived from drug trafficking; to do so would allow drug traffickers to work with impunity and would mean tolerating that bands of transnational criminals achieve their objectives, grabbing all the power they can with their dirty money made from the tragedy of drug dependency striking our youth and from the poverty of our peoples - realities undermining the future.

Hence Argentina urges the international community to adopt all necessary measures, also on the economic level, to remove impunity from drug trafficking, and to persuade nations to increase their economic co-operation so that adequate programmes can be rapidly developed and implemented that, while respecting the sovereignty of States and institutional stability, can promote their development in such a way that peoples will not seek to meet their needs by illicit means.

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

The objectives that we seek can be achieved only if we establish appropriate mechanisms to harmonize regional and interregional policies related to the subject before us. We therefore believe that, in order to make the best use of the future global programme of action by the United Nations control system, it would be appropriate to consider, among the alternatives for restructuring the system, the possibility of merging existing drug control bodies into a single organ, under a single authority, responsible for all related aspects of the subject.

My delegation believes it necessary to consider the possibility of reorganizing and reforming a structure that was created and put into effect at a time when this was a minor problem, but the analysis and solution of which are now complicated by technical, political and economic difficulties.

With regard to the new approaches to horizontal co-operation and subregional prospects transmitted to us by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, my country's policies are completely in line with these and that these criteria were applied both in the agreements signed by Argentina during 1988 and 1989 with the countries of the region and in its horizontal co-operation with the sister Republic of Colombia in its struggle against illicit drug trafficking.

In this difficult struggle undertaken by the Argentine Republic on its territory, we also have at our disposal in our legislation an instrument that demonstrates that the country is not disregarding any angle from which the problem needs to be tackled. I am referring to the possibility of production licit in origin being diverted to illicit production of narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances. The aforementioned instrument, which is part of the Argentine penal code, obliges corporations that produce, develop, prepare, export or import legal chemical substances or products that could serve as a basis for the production of narcotic drugs to sign a register that contains all the data necessary for the

(Mr. Lestelle, Argentina)

executive branch of Government to exercise proper control and avoid illegal derivatives. The international community must also take this problem into account and establish coherent standards in its task of controlling precursor chemicals.

The Argentine Republic once again forcefully condemns the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. We reiterate that this condemnation is not mere speech-making but rather a point of departure for an entire programme that is already under way and makes an integrated approach to the problem. Our country urges the international community to establish without delay common policies for a coherent, simultaneous, co-ordinated and comprehensive struggle, without prejudice to the cultural identity and sovereignty of the various States. The Argentine Republic urges the international community to strengthen economic and technical co-operation in this field so that the efforts of all nations of the world may not be frustrated because of lack of resources. The international battle against that crime against mankind, drug trafficking, is a shared responsibility, the complete fulfilment of which presupposes co-ordinated, systematic effort and effective international co-operation reflecting a common interpretation of the problem and translated into a common language for the purpose of harmonizing the different legislation.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): First, I wish to extend to Mr. Garba the warmest congratulations of the Algerian delegation on his election to the presidency of the seventeenth special session. His unanimous election is yet further testimony to the confidence placed in him and an acknowledgement of his skill in guiding the work of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, which enabled us to appreciate the new dynamism that inspires our Organization.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

The pre-eminent role played by the Secretary-General in this effort of renewal should also be stressed. The tribute we pay him here fully reflects our dedication to all the initiatives he has taken in this context.

In deciding unanimously to convene a special session to consider the question of international co-operation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, with a view to expanding the scope and increasing the effectiveness of such co-operation, the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session gave effect to the broad agreement of the international community on the need for global, multifaceted action resolutely to confront this scourge and its dangerous ramifications, which constitute a potential threat to the social and economic balance of most nations.

The fact that this decision was initiated and promoted by the developing countries, including Algeria, is further proof of their confidence in the authority and ability of the General Assembly, if only our Organization is provided with the framework and the means to fulfil its original mandate. This is the first time that this major body of the United Nations has devoted a special session to the consideration of a subject traditionally understood to be and treated as a social matter. This demonstrates our collective concern over the genuine tragedy inherent in the recent development of the drug scourge and the dangers it harbours for established social and economic structures and the human capital of our countries. It shows also the growing attention paid by the international community to social ills, and the awareness of the need to substitute a global, united policy for the piecemeal approach which has to date prevailed, so as to deal with an increasingly widespread scourge that affects to a greater or lesser degree every country, whatever its political, economic or social system.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

No one can today deny that the phenomenon of drug abuse is an especially serious danger: serious because essentially it attacks the life force of our nations, the youth, and swallows up its unfortunate victims, which are prey to dependency and irresponsibility; serious also because it undermines from within our social structures by weakening their bases and scale of values; serious, finally, because it compromises the economic development of countries stricken by this evil by depriving the productive sector of considerable sums of money that are obligingly recycled abroad by the international banking system.

Aside from the special situation of each of our countries, it seems to us to be essential that our common approach to this phenomenon include the economic and social context in which the two basic components - the supply of and the demand for drugs - develop.

On the one hand, the sustained demand, already large, has experienced an unbridled increase, together with an observed tendency in some countries towards the decriminalization of the use of drugs. On the other hand, the deterioration in the economic situation in developing countries has led to the dramatic impoverishment of rural populations and created particularly fertile ground for the development of speculation of all kinds. It is now clear that in some countries with favourable climatic conditions the development of the cultivation of cocoa, cannabis and hemp has followed immediately on the destabilization of traditional agricultural production, affected as it is by the continued depreciation in the value of its export, the outlets for which have remained firmly closed by the protectionist measures of recent years.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

Furthermore, the burden of external debt and the consequent diversion of financial resources originally intended for productive investment has undoubtedly become an aggravating factor in that it deprives the State structures of those countries of the means needed to face the challenge posed by the powerful international cartels built up on drug trafficking.

The Algerian delegation continues to believe that action by the international community should be directed simultaneously and with equal determination at eliminating the related causes of the two main components of the drug problem - drug supply and demand. Accordingly, we welcome the praiseworthy efforts of the officers of the Preparatory Committee of the Whole, under the direction of Mr. Peter Hohenfellner, in drafting the political declaration and the programme of action now submitted to us. In these two important documents is set out the global, co-ordinated approach which the countries on whose initiative this special session was convened had demanded, as an expression of the determination of the international community to contain and eradicate this scourge.

The various measures advocated therein in the framework of the prevention and reduction of demand and control of the supply and transportation of and illicit traffic in narcotics deserve unanimous support. I should like, in particular, to emphasize the importance of the various types of support that States Members and international organizations are invited to provide to countries resolutely committed to reduction of supply in all its aspects, from replacement of crops to the strengthening of border controls.

It was a good sign that last week, in Cartagena, Colombia, four Heads of State from the American continent held a meeting devoted entirely to the drug problem and decided on specific measures that would enable them to work together to fight the development of drug trafficking. This innovative approach strengthens our conviction that regional co-operation, as an expression of shared responsibility

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

is the ideal framework for the implementation of an effective policy to combat this scourge.

In view of the enormous challenge that must be met and the prospect of prolonged international action, the Algerian delegation supports the idea of proclaiming a United Nations decade for the fight against drug abuse. However, we hope that this decade would not be like the ones that have preceded it, especially those concerning economic and social development, the effectiveness of which was severely prejudiced by the absence of the necessary political will, the laxness of international mobilization, and, consequently, a lack of the essential financial, human and material resources.

In this regard, we must stress that the measures proposed in the global programme of action require appropriate financial resources - a sine qua non of their effectiveness. Obviously, the budgetary restrictions imposed on the United Nations system limit to a considerable extent the room for manoeuvre in this area. And here, as in many other areas of at least equal priority and urgency, there is already a reduction in financial resources. Thus, this exercise should not be seen as a simple matter of sharing out existing resources. The United Nations system will not be able to carry on this important activity unless substantial additional financial resources are made available to it.

Even though in my country this social ill is a recent and relatively marginal phenomenon, the Algerian authorities have very quickly begun to tackle this social ill by adopting preventive and deterrent measures and seeking to suppress it. This shows our determination to spare our society this scourge.

As regards prevention, the Algerian Government proposes to initiate widespread action to heighten the awareness of the most vulnerable groups of the population through media campaigns on the harmful effects of drugs. In schools and high schools special courses of civic instruction will be introduced into teaching

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programmes to develop an awareness of the problem among children and adolescents and encourage them to reject drugs. Finally, parent groups, religious authorities and youth associations have been mobilized to combat the use of drugs and psychotropic substances.

As regards deterrence, the Algerian authorities are strengthening border controls and have devoted substantial financial resources to the acquisition of modern detection and investigation equipment, specialized technical training for control personnel, and the creation of units specializing in the fight against drug trafficking in the major urban centres and in border zones. These activities are to be strengthened in the future, but already a governmental office has been established that brings together the security services, the customs and the various ministries concerned. This will co-ordinate national efforts in this area and participate actively in regional and international co-operation in the fight against drug trafficking.

As regards suppression, my country has extremely strict legislation that severely punishes not only traffickers in but also users of drugs and psychotropic substances.

We are well aware that national efforts alone, determined though they may be, are not sufficient to eradicate this scourge, which knows no borders. That is why Algeria, with certain of its neighbours and countries in the northern Mediterranean area, have set up within the framework of bilateral agreements machinery to provide for co-operation, joint action and the exchange of information, with a view to the prevention of drug trafficking. My country also plays an active part in relevant United Nations bodies, such as the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

In this connection, it is only fair to recognize that multilateral co-operation has already had appreciable results. I am thinking especially of the

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adoption, in 1988, of the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which Algeria signed as soon as it was adopted. No one can doubt that this new normative framework for multilateral action is likely to foster better international co-ordination between the administrations concerned with a campaign against illicit trafficking in drugs.

Awareness of the scope of the scourge of drugs and its harmful effects constitutes the basis for the convening of this special session. In this area, as in so many others, international co-operation should be based on three fundamental elements: the political will of States; a global approach; and the establishment of appropriate means of eliminating the underlying causes of the drug phenomenon.

The statements that we have heard at this special session bear witness to the reality of this political determination, as they do to our common quest for a global approach. We are called upon to adopt an unequivocal programme based on shared responsibility and aimed at co-ordinated action and solidarity. Algeria reaffirms its determination to make its contribution to this collective endeavour. History will recognize the holding of this special session as the expression of a defensive reflex by mankind as a whole faced with the drug peril.

Mr. HURST (Antigua and Barbuda): At the first meeting of the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, held in Vienna in June 1987, senior representatives from 138 participating nations gathered together to commit themselves publicly to the fight against world-wide drug abuse and drug trafficking. That meeting sowed the first seeds of extensive international co-operation on the issue of narcotic drugs. This co-operation was underscored by the resulting declaration, which showed the community's determination

"to combat the scourge of drug abuse and illicit trafficking, to adopt measures to strengthen international co-operation, and to strive for universal accession to existing drug treaties and speedy completion of the new trafficking convention."

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

Thus the need for this special session of the General Assembly is grounded in the sober recognition that the unrelenting spread of the deadly plague of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances now requires the collective effort of the world-wide community of nations to implement both the letter and the spirit of the Vienna Convention. Ideology, size or economic conditions notwithstanding, the eradication of this plague now unites North and South, East and West, developed and developing nations.

The prospects for international co-operation on this common problem are raising expectations. While my Government is aware that its expectations may be high, Antigua and Barbuda is buoyed by the conviction that a United Nations led initiative or plan of action to combat the evils of drug abuse is sure to provide fresh impetus to our continued efforts to rid our societies of the scourge of narcotics and the ravages which substance abuse has imposed on so many nations.

The Caribbean archipelago is dangerously exposed to illicit drug operations, located as it is between two continental areas of drug cultivation and drug consumption, and with all the inevitable consequences of that location. But, within the scope of our limited resources, the Governments of the region, my own included, have instituted policies ranging from legislative measures, crop eradication, tightened shipping and aerial security to public information and education programmes.

The drug economy, however, runs on cash. A vital component of drug trafficking is the ability to transform this cash into more manageable assets while concealing its illicit origins in that process known as money laundering. Hence drug barons have devised elaborate schemes whose sole intent is to disguise the true nature of drug money, making it appear legitimate.

The offshore international banking industry, which provides thousands of Caribbean people with jobs, is now an undeniably sophisticated financial system

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eminently capable of handling large monetary transactions in an expeditious manner. We fear that it could become a prime target for drug traffickers looking for ways to hide their their "narco-dollars", since, like all banking, it guarantees its customers confidentiality. Legitimate enterprises would thus be at risk of becoming corrupted by an influx of ill-gotten gains. Recognizing that thousands of millions of dollars move through the international banking systems every day and that the distinction between legitimate dollars and illicit drug money can be blurred, the Government of Antigua and Barbuda has pledged to increase its vigilance in policing our financial institutions to prevent their use by the drug barons seeking havens for their enormous illicit drug profits.

We are well aware that the drug traffickers are as crafty in their financial affairs as they are vicious in their drug dealings. Aiming to thwart law enforcement agents, the drug barons are constantly refining their money laundering practices, devising elaborate schemes to move mind-boggling sums of money secretly. This has resulted in expanding, dynamic underworld operations, requiring vigilance in the banking community and tough legal provisions to prevent the international offshore banking industry from becoming tainted.

To this end my Government now has in place the necessary banking laws that allow our courts to issue judicial orders upon reasonable suspicion, granting Government the power to examine banking records where money laundering is suspected. Information so acquired can then be made available to another Government. Furthermore we have passed legislation permitting the seizure and forfeiture of assets of convicted drug traffickers. If these assets are left untouched, then the drug barons will continue to have at their disposal the wherewithal to finance drug production and trafficking, inevitably ensnaring more of our citizens in the deadly tentacles of drug abuse.

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These deterrents have succeeded in keeping our financial and business institutions free of the illegally earned profits of illicit drugs. However, we are fully aware that in our unrelenting quest for foreign investment our financial institutions will become increasingly exposed to criminals seeking legitimate banks by which to conceal illicit drug profits. To prevent such an occurrence we intend to maintain our vigilance, introducing new banking laws, as required, to handle effectively the constantly evolving money laundering schemes of the drug barons.

The Government of Antigua and Barbuda is particularly concerned with the vulnerability of our island nation to the concomitant terrorist attacks that invariably accompany the spread of the drug trade. The narco-terrorists, who are increasingly being forced to abandon their bases of operation in other countries, are constantly in search of new locations situated reasonably close to the major metropolitan areas of consumption from which to ply their deadly trade. This search places my region and my country in grave danger. Not having the resources, the manpower, and certainly not the inclination, to establish a large army to serve as a deterrent to the narco-bandits, concern for the fate of my island nation is indeed justified.

Drug production and trafficking are big business. The product is lucrative, needs little advertising and keeps the customer coming back for more. The criminal organizations running these businesses are skilful and ruthless, frequently resorting to violent means to secure their ill-gained profits.

As a response to these narco-terrorists, we call upon the international community to reconsider the creation of an international criminal court of justice that has been under consideration at the United Nations for more than 40 years. The Government of Antigua and Barbuda and 10 other Governments of the Caribbean region support the draft resolution proposed by Trinidad and Tobago, which calls

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for the establishment of an international criminal court with jurisdiction over crimes relating to the illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs, among others.

The Caribbean, drawing upon its own history and past experiences, is desirous of breathing new life into the proposal for an international criminal court. Therefore my Government supports the draft resolution introduced by Trinidad and Tobago. It is my delegation's belief that dire consequences result when large and powerful nations seek to extend the jurisdiction of their domestic courts beyond their own borders without the benefit of a treaty or other constitutional guidelines. This practice runs counter to the accepted norm of the sovereign equality of States. However, with the establishment of an international criminal court, large and small nations will be held to identical principles of law.

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An international criminal court would also provide the necessary mechanism whereby criminal defendants apprehended for trafficking in illegal drugs across national borders could be brought to trial and convicted in an international setting. In order to avoid sacrificing legal norms, rules of procedure could be agreed upon by Member States to guarantee fairness. In particular, the guidelines could allow Member States to decide beforehand which class of defendants would or would not be tried by the international criminal court. Thus, it would be a court to which large and small nations alike could have recourse to ensure fairness and protect themselves from narco-terrorism. In addition, the creation of such an institution would underscore the international community's resolve to tackle the problem of drugs as a co-operative venture.

On this occasion the international community has in its grasp the necessary vehicles to approach with confidence the crossroads in our continuous fight against drugs. We have already passed the point of leisurely pursuit of experimental programmes originating from theoretical postulates. From this moment onwards we are surely ready for action. We must ensure, therefore, that priority is given to the allocation of sufficient resources to fund the programmes and projects of the relevant bodies within the United Nations system.

In particular, the work of the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, the Division of Narcotic Drugs, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the International Narcotics Control Board will become even more important to the world community in the escalating war on drugs.

These anti-drug bodies must not fail. Their efforts to launch a frontal attack must not be constrained by normal budgetary limitations. We therefore urge that these bodies be given a greater share of the regular budget of the United Nations and of voluntary contributions.

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The scourge of drugs is one of the known man-made weapons possessing the frightening capacity to decimate entire societies and countries. What is even more ominous is the realization that no country is immune and no national boundary safe. Hence, the question of international co-operation within an institutional framework for ending the illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution assumes an added urgency. The onus is upon all of us gathered here today to attack this common problem.

It is clear that at the regional level a co-operative effort has already taken shape. A week ago the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the United States held a historic summit in Cartagena, Colombia, to demonstrate and articulate their collective concerns over the escalation of drug cultivation, the corresponding drug trade and the concomitant rise in drug abuse. It is now the responsibility of the international community to take action. We must therefore define our immediate and long-term strategies to prepare us to meet the ever-present and rapidly growing menace of drugs in our respective societies.

At this the dawn of the last decade of this century, a century in which we saw the emergence of the United Nations from the ashes of the Second World War to its present position as a bulwark against conflicts and conflagration, it is not surprising that it is the Organization to which the world now turns its eyes. It is not at all surprising that it is the Organization to which we look to devise solutions that will assure generations to come of a more secure world. Now more than ever we need to work together, to channel our energies together, to co-ordinate our national strategies in a concerted effort to eliminate the drug problem. Future generations are depending upon us.

Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): We are faced with a most daunting and challenging task. The social, cultural, economic and, indeed, political development of many countries is threatened by the drug menace, and none remains

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immune to the debilitating effects of illicit trafficking, money laundering, drug abuse and associated illnesses. Illicit trafficking transcends all boundaries. It is now universally recognized that no single country, or even regional group, has the capacity to deal effectively and decisively with this crisis. It was thus that three years ago the international community held, under the auspices of the United Nations, the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, in Vienna. Political differences set aside, 138 nations expressed their common aspiration to a world free of illicit trafficking and drug abuse. A Declaration and the Comprehensive Multidisciplinry Outline of Future Activities in Drug Abuse Control (CMO), signalled the political commitment to such a realization and offered a compendium for consolidated international action.

In that spirit of co-operation, we need to build on such past activities, to maintain solidarity and a unified course of direction, while at the same time remaining sensitive to divergent opinions and needs and recognizing the inherent rights of national sovereignty. We need to ensure that the CMO is implemented in all its relevant aspects, and we need to find innovative measures to overcome such obstacles as those posed by inadequate financial resources. Good intentions are simply not enough to meet the challenge before us. Drug enforcement and interdiction, as well as demand reduction, need to be financed and the wherewithal provided.

To plan and implement drug control policy effectively, the priority we pronounce today should be reflected in a system-wide medium-term plan of action, with clear targets set for multilateral agencies, within reach of their budgets and personnel. My delegation is encouraged by the steps taken in this direction as relayed to the special session in a report of the Secretary-General. In reinforcing the structural capacity of the United Nations drug control units, redundancy and overlapping responsibilities should be avoided. The manifold

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activities required could be distributed among United Nations agencies according to their areas of expertise, utilizing the capabilities of the entire United Nations system effectively and efficiently and thereby reducing the budgetary constraints imposed by limited funds. I take this occasion to applaud the United Nations agencies responsible for drug control policy and activities on the excellent work performed thus far under limiting circumstances.

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In responding to the need for additional resources it should be borne in mind that many developing countries are already at a financial precipice, clearly unable to provide what is not available. Additional responsibilities that need to be fulfilled, such as those established by the CMO will therefore have to be supplemented by more prosperous partners. Moreover, increased assistance and resources should be made available to those States lacking an effective capability to implement a drug control policy in the absence of sufficient resources our words and declarations, however lofty and sincere, will be buried under an avalanche of illicit narcotics and our societies will increasingly succumb to a degenerative narco-culture.

Following the success of the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking the legal framework established by the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, as amended by the 1972 Protocol, and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances was further reinforced with the adoption of the 1988 International Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances by a United Nations Conference of plenipotentiaries. A new juridical instrument, the International Convention will improve and strengthen international co-operation and co-ordination among customs authorities, police and other judicial bodies, as well as provide for the tracing and seizure of assets derived from illicit narcotics transactions and set the legal guidelines for greater and more effective interdiction. While not to be viewed as a panacea, the International Convention greatly enhances the mechanisms available to the international community.

My delegation therefore encourages States that have as yet to sign this important new Convention to do so at an early date and thereby expedite its entry into force. It was with a profound commitment to the international struggle against illicit trafficking that Indonesia signed the Convention, and it gives me

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satisfaction to report that a national committee has been established to identify provisions in our national laws that need to be modified to conform with the Convention. Furthermore, in the period between signing and ratifying, provisional application of the Convention could be considered as an interim step within the parameters of national legal principles.

Ultimately, the war against illicit trafficking and drug abuse is waged at the national and local levels. Depending on the region and country, that entails efforts at reduction of supply and manufacture, reduction of demand by such means as rehabilitation, and reduction and cessation of illicit trafficking and distribution. It is the joint task of the international community to bind all this into a common network. Within Indonesia the Government has drawn up national comprehensive multidisciplinary activities in the control of drug abuse and illicit trafficking, based on the GMO. As a transit nation for illicit trafficking in the South East Asia region, we have adopted a cross-sectoral comprehensive approach that involves not only interdiction of illicit trafficking but education of our youth, public awareness campaigns to prevent consumption and stiffer sentences for drug offenders. In addition, rehabilitation of those who have fallen victim to the tragedy of drug abuse should always have a central position in our efforts, and that is being undertaken in Indonesia.

We are under no illusion that, now that the world has acknowledged the gravity of the situation and voiced condemnation of illicit trafficking and the tragedy of drug abuse, we are near salvation. The root cause of the dilemma with which we are now faced goes beyond the greed of traffickers and the waste of talent and life through drug abuse. The question entails a vast range of causes and effects, stemming from the despair of the poverty, hunger and disease experienced by millions throughout the world and from many other economic and social issues that need to be resolved. While our actions here today are a small step in the right

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direction, a final satisfactory resolution will necessitate a closer look at the world's unfortunates and an overall improvement of the human condition through economic and social development.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.